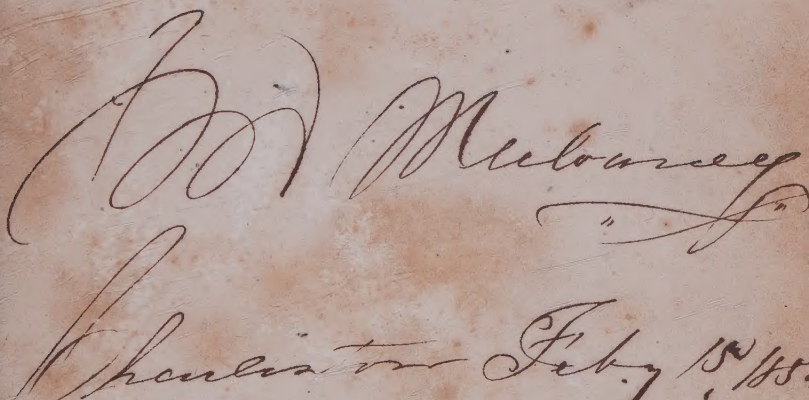
MARYLAND DIOCESAN LIBRARY,
1108 MADISON AVENUE.
LENDING DEPARTMENT.
282.415
M172
A

St. Mark's Library
THE
General Theological
Seminary

Chelsea Square · New York
Maryland Diocesan Library
The Memorial Library
of the Reverend Edwin A. Dalrymple.
Whittingham Collection

Wm. A. Stewart.



A

HISTORY OF THE ATTEMPTS

TO ESTABLISH THE

PROTESTANT REFORMATION

IN IRELAND,

AND THE

SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE OF THAT PEOPLE.

(TIME: 1540—1830.)

BY

THOMAS DARCY M'GEE,

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF IRISH SETTLERS IN NORTH AMERICA;" "LIVES OF THE IRISH WRITERS;" "LIFE OF ART. M'MURROGH;" "HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF O'CONNELL AND HIS FRIENDS," ETC., ETC., ETC.

"For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues: "And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings, for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles." — ST. MATTHEW: Chap. x. Verses 17, 18.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY PATRICK DONAHOE,

FRANKLIN STREET.

1853.

282.415
M172

92178

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by
PATRICK DONAHOE,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

STEREOTYPED AT THE
BOSTON STEREOTYPE FOUNDRY

TO THE

RT. REV. JOHN BERNARD FITZPATRICK, D.D.,

THIRD BISHOP OF BOSTON,

AS AN INADEQUATE EXPRESSION OF PROFOUND ESTEEM AND VENERATION,

This Volume

IS VERY RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

Preface, ... 11

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

The early Irish Church and State. — The Milesians. — Druidism. — St. Patrick. — The Apostolic Age. — The Danish Invasions. — Brian at Clontarf. — St. Malachi. — The Normans in Ireland. — The War of Races. — Irish Church in the Middle Ages. 19

CHAPTER II.

Henry VIII. of England elected King of Ireland. — Antecedents of this Election. — The Clergy not consulted. — The Chiefs canvassed individually. — After the Election. — Apostate Bishops. — Confiscation, Sacrilege, and Reformation. 30

CHAPTER III.

King Edward and Queen Mary. — Cranmer's Attempts to establish the Reformation in Ireland. — The first Catholic Insurrection. — Accession of Queen Mary. — Catholic Reaction. — Restoration of the Irish Bishops. — Death of Queen Mary. — State of Parties. 46

CHAPTER IV.

The Irish Catholic Strength at the Accession of Elizabeth. — Test Oaths enacted. — First Catholic Confederacy. — The Insurrection of

the Desmonds. — Confiscation of Munster. — The First Martyrs. — The Ulster Princes. — Second Catholic Confederation. — Alliance with Spain. — Battle of Kinsale. 55

CHAPTER V.

Stuarts succeed to the Throne. — Endowment of Trinity College. — Usher and O'Daniel. — Confiscation of Ulster. — "Recusant" Party. — Charles I. — A new Persecution. — Strafford's Viceroyalty. — Confiscation of Connaught. — The School of Wards. — The Solemn League and Covenant. 85

CHAPTER VI.

The Presbyterians and Puritans in Ireland. — Extermination their Policy. — Ulster Rising of 1641. — New Catholic Confederacy founded by Rory O'Moore. — Oath of Confederation. — General Insurrection. — Catholic Legislation. — Peters and Jerome. — Owen Roe O'Neil. — Ormond. — Cromwell in Ireland. — The Puritan Penal Laws. — Death of Cromwell. 99

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Restoration of Charles II. — Act of Settlement. — Ormond's Attempt to Gallicanize the Irish Church. — Synod of 1666. — Lord Berkeley's Viceroyalty. — The New Test Act. — "The Popish Plot." — Martyrdom of Primate Plunkett. — Assassination of Count Redmond O'Hanlon. 139

CHAPTER II.

Accession of James II. — Talbot, Lord Deputy. — Irish Soldiers in England. — Invasion of William III. — Irish Parliament of 1686. —

"No Popery" Riots in London. — "The Irish Night." — The War in Ireland. 153

CHAPTER III.

Reign of William III. — Violation of the Treaty of Limerick. — Proscription of the Bishops and Clergy. — Further Confiscations of Catholic Property. 165

CHAPTER IV.

Queen Anne's Reign. — "Act to discourage the Growth of Popery." — Sir Toby Butler heard at the Bar of the Houses of Parliament. — His Character. — Immense Emigration. — Priest Hunting. — Primate McMahon. 171

CHAPTER V.

Irish Catholics abroad. — Irish Colleges at Louvain, Paris, Rome, Lisbon, &c. — Irish Soldiers in Foreign Service. — The Irish Brigade in France. — How their Reputation reacted on England. 191

CHAPTER VI.

The Jacobites and the Irish Catholics. — The Stuarts consulted at Rome on the Appointment of Irish Bishops. — The Rapparees. — The Wandering Ministrels and "Newsmen." 206

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Irish Parties in the Reign of George II. — "The Patriots." — "The Castle Party." — Increase of the Catholics. — Establishment of Charter Schools. — Swift's Portraits of the Protestant Prelates. — Battle of Culloden. — Change of Catholics' Tactics. 215

CHAPTER II.

State of Ireland at the Accession of George III. — Publications on the Catholic Question. — The Great Famine. — Catholic Committees for petitioning Parliament. — Proposed Relief Bill of 1762. — Rumored French Invasion. — Agrarianism. — Martyrdom of Father Nicholas Sheehy and his Friends. — Spread of Secret Societies. — The Methodists in Ireland. 232

CHAPTER III.

Second Catholic Committee formed. — Concessions in 1774 and 1778. — Secession of "Lord Kenmare and the Sixty-Eight." — John Keogh, Leader of the Catholics. — Management of the Committee. — Coöperation of Edmund Burke. — General Discussion of Catholic Principles in Ireland and England. — Arthur O'Leary. — Burke and Tone. — London Riots of 1780. — Irish Catholic Convention elected. — Their Delegates presented to George III., and demand Total Emancipation. — Relief Bill of 1793. — Political Reaction. . . . 244

CHAPTER IV.

Maynooth College founded. — Union of Defenders and United Irishmen. — Insurrection of 1798. — Falsehoods concerning Catholics engaged in it. — Proposed Legislative Union. — Pitt and the Bishops. — The Act of Union; its Results on the Catholic Cause. . . . 278

CHAPTER V.

Catholic Question in the Imperial Parliament. — Pitt. — Fox. — Grenville. — Catholic Committee of 1805. — Its Dissolution. — Catholic Board formed. — Veto Controversy. — Dissolution of the Board. — Lethargy of the Catholics. — State of Ireland, A. D. 1820. 290

CHAPTER VI.

Visit of George IV. to Ireland. — The Catholic Question in Parliament. — Formation of the Catholic Association. — Its Progress and Power. — The Catholics before Parliament in Person. — Foreign Sympathy; Aid from the Irish in America. — The "Second Refor-

mation." — General Catholic Controversy. — Advocates of Emancipation of the Press. — Election of O'Connell to Parliament. — Relief Bill of 1829. — Relations of the Church and "the Establishment," A. D. 1830. — Conclusion. 316

APPENDIX.

I. The Civil and Military Articles of Limerick, ... 343
II. The Irish Lords' Protest against the Act "to confirm the Articles of Limerick," A. D. 1702, ... 353
III. Petition and List of Delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, . . 354
IV. The Pope's Letter on the Subject of the Veto, ... 363
V. Carey's Analysis of the Alleged Massacre of 1641, ... 371

Charleston South Carolina
February 15th 1854
J. M. Melvaney
"
"

PREFACE.

EVERY sect of reformers known in the British empire has attempted to propagate itself in Ireland, and has failed. The Anglican church is as far from the hearts of that people as ever; the Presbyterian denomination has hardly retained the natural increase of its Scottish founders. In Ulster it still flourishes; but we must remember that it was transplanted in its maturity to that confiscated soil. It did not grow there; it has not spread beyond that privileged and exclusive province.

The Independents, planted by Cromwell; the Quakers, introduced by Penn; the Lutherans, endowed by William; the Huguenots, patronized by Anne and the Georges; the Methodists, organized by the Wesleys and Whitfield — all have been tried in Irish soil, and all have failed.

In Ireland, the crown has been for Protestantism; the legislature, the only university, the army and navy, all civil offices until, as it were, yesterday, have been reserved for the support of "the Protestant interest." Not only all the privileges and all the forces have been on that side, but even sacred rights, — such as freedom of worship, of education, and of proprietorship, — until the

close of the last century, have been all denied by law to the Catholics. Protestantism had every thing its own way — the crown, the laws, the taxes, forces, schools, estates, and churches. By every human calculation, the victory would be declared to the strong. Yet it is quite otherwise in this instance.

How a poor and insulated peasantry could have kept their ancient faith, against such odds, for three hundred years, is matter of wonder to those who are not Catholics. To those who are, it is a source of inquiry and reflection full of edification and encouragement. A book in which the facts of this contest would be set down briefly and intelligibly has long been wanted. Thirty years ago, Charles Butler considered it "the great literary *desideratum*" in our language; and a *desideratum* it has remained.

If it is important to have such a book published, it is very difficult to compile it, even in summary style. In Ireland, this must have been felt, where so many able Catholic writers have declined it, either from the greatness of the labor or the incompleteness of the authorities. In America, far removed from all who have made any portion of the subject their special study, with such authorities as are to be had or imported here, I have found the work very arduous indeed. For some facts I have had chiefly to rely on a large collection of manuscript notes, made partly in Dublin libraries and partly in that of the British Museum in the years 1846 and 1847.

The memoirs on which I have chiefly relied are of three classes: —

I. Contemporary Catholic narratives of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries — such as "The

Four Masters," Bishop O'Daly's Histories, O'Sullivan's, Bishop French's Tracts, the Jacobite Pamphlets and Memoirs, *Hibernia Dominicana*, and Father O'Leary's Letters.

II. Publications on the Penal Code and Catholic Relief Bills during the period of agitation; Curry's Civil Wars; Burke's Letters and Speeches; O'Conor's Pamphlets; Brookes's Letters; Scully's Digest of the Penal Laws; William Parnell's Apology for the Irish Catholics; Sir Henry Parnell's History of the Penal Laws; Petitions and Reports of the successive Catholic Committees; the Debates in the Irish and English Parliaments; and the Diplomatic Correspondence of both governments as far as it relates to Ireland.

III. County and City Histories — such as those of Dublin, Armagh, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Galway; Biographies of the chief actors for and against the church — Henry VIII., Usher, Strafford, Ormond, Cromwell, Clarendon, Walpole, Chesterfield, George III., Pitt, and Castlereagh, of the Protestant side; Hugh O'Neil, Bishop French, Primate Plunkett, James II., Patrick Sarsfield, Charles O'Conor, Edmund Burke, Henry Grattan, Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, Bishop Doyle, and Daniel O'Connell, of the Catholic side.

From these authorities I have endeavored to extract all the essential facts in relation to "the Reformation" in Ireland.

I am deeply sensible, after all the care and time I could bestow on it, how far the work is from what it might be made in abler hands. Yet even as a substitute for a better, it is well it should go forth. One half the Irish race are in America, and need to have this History by them. If not in this way, in what other shall

they be shown the cost at which our fathers purchased that "pearl beyond price," the religion which, through the grace of God, we still retain? Here are no wayside crosses or empty belfries, no Cromwellian breaches, no soil fruitful of traditions, to keep alive in their souls the story of their heroic and orthodox ancestors. For the monuments and memorials that abound in Erin, this little book is the only substitute I can offer them. It will be, I trust, an acceptable offering to those for whom it is chiefly intended.

This book I call "A History of the Attempts" to establish the "Reformation" in Ireland, because it relates each attempt and failure. The variety and energy of these efforts may be well imagined from an abstract.

I. Attempts under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to intimidate the existing hierarchy, by punishing as treason the refusal to take the oath of supremacy; the confiscation of religious possessions, and the war upon the shrines, schools, and relics of the saints.

II. Attempts under Elizabeth, by armies and wholesale confiscations, as in the case of Desmond; by the endowment of Trinity College, and the theory of Usher, that the early Irish church was Protestant.

III. Attempt of James I., by colonizing Ulster with Presbyterians, the act of conformity, and the exclusion of Catholics from the Irish parliament.

IV. Attempt under Charles I., by ordering all priests and Jesuits to leave the kingdom; by the commission for inquiring into defective titles; by the enlargement of the school of king's wards.

V. Attempts of the Puritans, by the solemn league and covenant; by the Anglo-Scotch invasion; by trans-

portation to Barbadoes; by martial law; by the importation of Independents, Brownists, Anabaptists, &c.

VI. Attempt under Charles II., by the act of settlement, and swearing Ireland into "the Popish plot."

VII. Attempts under William and Anne, by banishing the Catholic soldiery, and colonizing German Protestants; by violating the treaty of Limerick; by enlarging the penal laws into a complete code.

VIII. Attempts under the present dynasty, by state schools and a system of proselytism, to effect what confiscation, war, and controversy failed to effect in earlier times.

The work closes at the year of our Lord 1830. It might have been continued down to the present time, when we find new penal enactments added to the statutes of Westminster, new proselytizing societies ranging through Ireland, a successor of St. Patrick assailed with all the forces of British diplomacy, and a Catholic Defence Association sitting in Dublin. But remembering the advice of Ecclesiasticus, "Judge no man while he is living," the narrative closes at 1830.

American Celt Office,
Buffalo, 1852.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1540 TO 1660.

FROM THE

ELECTION OF HENRY VIII., AS KING OF IRELAND,

UNTIL THE

DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH AND STATE. — THE MILESIANS. — DRUIDISM. — ST. PATRICK. — THE APOSTOLIC AGE. — THE DANISH INVASIONS. — BRIAN AT CLONTARF. — ST. MALACHI. — THE NORMANS IN IRELAND. — THE WAR OF RACES. — IRISH CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The history of Ireland is as stormy as its situation. The pier of Western Europe, she braves the Atlantic, and supports the furious violence of its winds and waves. She has been wasted for the weal of Christendom; and as yet, Christendom has not studied, according to conscience, to do justice to the history of her western safeguard — a history which is full of suffering, of devotion, of miracles, and of good fruits, ripening through many ages, and scattered throughout the world.

Ireland has been mainly influenced by three natural causes. Her insular situation has made her a spectator, rather than a party to European combinations for political purposes; while Europe was inflamed, Ireland was rendered cool by the fearful spectacle of another's passion; her story has been a standing mirror and comment on continental history. Peopled by an Asiatic tribe, deriving, through Spain, the character of the Scotii, or Milesians, has been the second remarkable influence in her destiny. From them the mixed race, called Irish, derive their Oriental imagination and idealism; they never were, and never can be, materialists; their habits, traditions, standards, are all Asiatic. Unlike the other northern and western nations, they did not cross the continent, gathering an alloy by the way; their galleys shot from the shore of Spain, and their Chaldean craft led them to that remote island, where they drew their boats on shore, and planted their banners. The relation of Ireland and Britain is the third influence, which penetrates

the history of this people, especially in the modern period.

The growth of a Christian church and state in the Island of the Scotii affords a highly-interesting subject to the student of national life and character. It is necessary to indicate here the facts of that general conversion.

We know the Druidical form of paganism to have been a refined and elaborate system. Of all the false systems known to us, it approached nearest to the Greek mythology. The elements were deified, and the hours and seasons dedicated to their appropriate gods. The crystal wells were worshipped as the abodes of pure spirits; a future state of being was believed to exist, under the western waves, where the *Tierna n'oge*, or Lord of the Ever-Young, dwelt, and with him heroes, in endless enjoyment. Through the island there were sacred groves, dedicated with mysterious rites, and guarded by severe penalties from profanation. Certain trees and plants, as the oak, the ash, elm, and hazel, were held sacred; the mistletoe and vervain were gathered under certain planetary auspices, according to a prescribed ceremonial. The winds and stars were deities, solemnly invoked and sworn by. Crom was the Jupiter, Briga, or Bridget, the Muse, and Mananan McLir (son of the sea) the Neptune of the Celtic system.* Of their ceremonies and sacrifices we know nothing that is certain. Annually they had two great religious festivals, at spring time and in harvest. Their ritual was preserved in obscure rhymes, their hierarchy an hereditary order, at once poets, judges of the civil law, and priests. They

* Crom, the thunderer, or fire god, is a well-known character to Irish readers. The Druid's altars, throughout Ireland, are still called Cromleaches, or Crom's stones. In the "glossary" of Cormac, Archbishop of Cashel, (a work of the tenth century,) there is this Christian-like account of the son of Lir: "Mananan McLir was a famous merchant that lived in the Isle of Manan. He was the best navigator that lived in the sea in the west of the world. He used to ascertain by heaven-study, that is, observation of the heavens, the duration of calm and storm, and the duration of either of these two periods." Quoted in Appendix to the Irish version of Nennius. Dublin: Archæological Society's Publications, 1848.

somewhat resembled the Egyptian priesthood; they had separate estates, dedicated to their maintenance. Many good and wise pagan princes had obeyed and upheld this system. Tighernmass innovated upon its early simplicity, for he was the first to introduce idols; Tuathal, who was known to Agricola and Tacitus, restored discipline, and, perhaps, added something of the formulas he had learned during his long exile in Britain and Rome. The Druidical families were a powerful party.

The numbers and energy of the islanders, even in those early ages, were remarkable. They had colonized the Isle of Man in the third century. In the fourth, they had given a colony to Scotland, which afterwards consolidated and ruled that kingdom; in the fifth, they had effected settlements in Anglesea and Wales, from which, after twenty-nine years' possession, they were forcibly expelled by Cassawallawn, the long-handed, famous in Welsh history. About the same time, they extended their expeditions into Gaul, their path being made clear through Britain by the withdrawal of the Roman legions for the defence of the empire. In 406, Nial of the hostages perished in the Loire; and in 430, Dathi, his successor, died near Sales, in Piedmont. Their habitual route was from Chester to Dover, along the Gwyddelinsarn, or "road of the Irish," which long after became King Alfred's boundary between the Danes and Saxons, in Britain.

In the year of our Lord 431, Pope Celestine sent to Ireland St. Patrick. That wise and holy bishop knew well the people he had to teach and baptize. He adopted all their natural rites, which were in themselves innocent. He blessed their worshipped wells; he permitted their spring and autumn festivals, but converted them to the honor of the saints; he followed in his ecclesiastical arrangements the civil divisions of the island; he destroyed the ceremonial, but retained the historical writings of the Druids. He made seven circuits of the island, the first six on foot, and is said to have ordained three hundred bishops and seven thousand priests. The poet with his harp, and the prince with

his power, he enlisted; he called, with supernatural insight, his apostles from all orders of people — the converted Druid, the peasant from the plough, the smith from the forge, and the fisherman from his boat; he found a vocation and a place for all. He died towards the close of the century, (A. D. 493,) leaving Christianity in all the high and lowly places of Erin; having seen paganism, if not entirely destroyed, mortally wounded, and driven into solitary places, where yet a while it conspired in vain for restoration.

The three centuries following St. Patrick's death make the golden age of the Irish church. The spiritual order was exalted to an uncommon degree — exempted from taxes and from service in war; endowed with the collective gifts of tribes and princes; recruited from all classes, honored by all. While the Gothic tempest was trampling down the classic civilization, Ireland providentially became the nursery of saints, and the refuge of science. Her two most ardent passions then were to learn and to teach. In Iceland, the Orkneys, Scotland, Britain, Gaul, Germany, even in Italy, her missionaries were every where, transplanting, in the loosened soil, the pagan tree of knowledge and the Christian tree of life. As the Goths conquered Rome, the Celts conquered the Goths. Where the barbarian was strongest, there the Christian islanders won their highest victories. The Roman martyrology gives us, for those three centuries, three hundred saints — a canonized soldier of Christ for every year of the era. Why should I name these illustrious missionaries? All Christian nations, in their cathedrals, annals, and festivals, keep their memories green before the generations of men.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, a great and unheard-of danger threatened the Irish church — the northern barbarians. They first appeared in the Irish seas between the years 790 and 800. The flocks and herds, with which the island abounded, and the richly-endowed shrines and schools, were the chief attractions for these piratical pagans. Accordingly, the sacred places suffered most from their incursions. In 838,

they spoiled and burned down Clonard of St. Kyran, a famous school and see; in the same expedition, Slane, the school of King Dagobert, and Durrow of Columbcille, also suffered; four times in the same century Armagh was desecrated, and laid in ruins; Lismore, and even Clonmacnoise, in the very heart of the country, were rifled. Three centuries of peace had left the pious and studious Irish ill prepared to resist these fierce invaders, but necessity restored the warlike spirit of the race. In 863, "the Danes" were beaten near Lough Foyle; in 902, near Dublin; at Dundalk, in 920; at Roscrea, in 943; and again at Lough Foyle in 1002. Several of their kings perished upon Irish fields, as saga and chronicle attest. It was in Ireland, and probably as a captive, that King Olaf Trygvesson, the apostle of Denmark, became a Christian.

But the majority of those who poured from the north on Christendom, at this epoch, were inveterate pagans. The Irish wars against them are therefore to be considered as earlier crusades. In this character we regard the campaigns of Brian, called Boroimhe, that is, Tribute-taker. For half a century, as general and as sovereign, he pursued these enemies of God and man with heroic constancy. From the Shannon to Lough Foyle, in more than threescore battles, he had broken and routed their annual expeditions. At the end of the tenth century, he had left no Northmen in the land, except a few artisans and merchants at Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, who pursued their callings in peace, and paid taxes for protection. Brian, whose sovereign genius thus sheltered his age and nation, was in rank but a provincial king. The king of Leinster was Maolmorra, a jealous and headstrong prince. Some sharp words over a game of chess played at Kincora, with Brian's son, led this great criminal to enter into a league with the ancient enemy, and invite them once more to Ireland. The northern races warmly responded to his call, as did their kinsmen in Britain and Normandy. The King of Denmark's two sons, Carolus Kanutus and Andreas, with twelve thousand men,

reached Dublin, and were loudly received by the traitor who sent for them. Broder and Arnud came with one thousand select Norwegians, covered all in armor; Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, brought at least as many; Maolmorra added nine thousand men. At least twenty-five thousand of the invading force mustered in Dublin on Palm Sunday, A. D. 1014. They insisted on being led to battle on Good Friday, which one of their oracles assured them would be a day of victory to them. Brian would have avoided fighting on so holy an anniversary, but he was forced to defend himself. With him was a numerous army, divided, like the enemy, into three columns; his two sons commanded the first; Kian and Donald the second; and Connor O'Kelly and other western princes lead on the third. A Scottish auxiliary force, under "the great Stewart," fought on the side of Ireland and the faith. Brian, then over fourscore years old, with crucifix in hand, harangued his army. "Long have the men of Ireland," he exclaimed, "groaned under the tyranny of these seafaring pirates; the murderers of your kings and chieftains; plunderers of your fortresses; profane destroyers of the churches and monasteries of God; who have trampled and committed to the flames the relics of his saints; and (raising his voice) May the Almighty God, through his great mercy, give you strength and courage this day to put an end forever to the Lochlunian tyranny in Ireland, and to revenge upon them their many perfidies, and their profanations of the sacred edifices dedicated to his worship; this day, on which Jesus Christ himself suffered death for your redemption." He then, continue the ancient annals, "showed them the symbol of the bloody sacrifice in his left hand, and his golden-hilted sword in his right, declaring that he was willing to lose his life in so just and honorable a cause." And he did lose it, though not in the battle. The chiefs of the army insisted on his retiring to his tent, where he was slain before the crucifix by a party of the enemy. The victory of the Christians was, however, complete. At sunset, fourteen thousand pagan bodies lay dead upon that memorable field.

The Irish loss was less in numbers; but Brian himself, his second son, and two grandsons, the great Stewart of Scotland, and other captains fell on their side. The fame of the result filled all Christendom in that and after times; the chronicles of Epiparchus, and of Ratisbon, the Niala Saga, and the Saga of Earl Sigurd, preserved among the Normans and their northern kindred the memory of "Brian's battle."* It was to Christendom a later Tours, or an earlier Lepanto, this event of Good Friday in Ireland, A. D. 1014. Under Brian's successor, Malachi II., the Danes made an unsuccessful attempt to recover their lost possessions in Leinster, but were suppressed, and Dublin, their city, burned and demolished.

This eleventh century, so auspiciously begun, is one of the most remarkable in modern Irish history. It is at this time we must look for the first weakening of the federal bond, which had hitherto kept Tara the capital, and the Ard-righ the Imperator under the Celtic constitution; with the derangement of the ancient balance, there comes into account the aggrandizement of the great houses. The O'Briens, especially, overgrew every provincial standard. Malcolm, King of Scots, married a daughter of Brian; Donagh, Brian's heir, married Driella, daughter of Godwin, Earl of Kent, sister to the Queen of England, and to Harold heir presumptive. When Godwin and his sons were banished, they took refuge with O'Brien; and from Ireland, and with Irish troops, they returned to assert their rights in England. Twenty years after the battle of Hastings, the sons of Harold, fostered and educated in Ireland, made a descent with Irish troops, landing in the Severn, as their father had done, and fighting with hereditary ill luck.† Thus was Ireland brought into direct collision with the new and sensitive Norman dynasty established in the neighboring island. To this dynasty, the townsmen and tradesmen of Danish origin, tolerated in the seaports,

* The well-known Danish ode on this battle, translated by Thomas Gray, will also occur to the reader's memory.

† Thierry's Norman Conquest, vol. i.

also turned with expectation. They sent letters of congratulation to William the Conqueror, on his accession; their bishops of Dublin and Waterford went to Canterbury to be consecrated; in 1142, Irish Danes served under Cadwallader, King Henry's ally in Wales; and in 1165, they served under Henry II., in person, against David ap Owen. This alliance, so natural in its origin, wants not a link in those ages; but, though natural, it can hardly be justified, when we know that these same naturalized Irish Danes rendered homage to the successive kings of Ireland.* They evidently acted a double part in the politics of both kingdoms at this period.

While the Norman dynasty was strengthening itself in England, and the Celtic constitution was gradually degenerating from its essential unity, the Irish hierarchy were zealously employed in repairing the discipline, and the churches, destroyed by three centuries of pagan warfare. An unlettered clergy, more accustomed to defend their creed with the sword than the syllogism, had succeeded the learned fathers of the apostolic age; the canons were flagrantly violated, often unintentionally; the office of erenach, or treasurer, originally confined to archdeacons, was usurped, almost in every diocese, by laymen; the very primacy had become an heirloom, and for three generations had been kept in one family. God had pity on his people, and raised up a second St. Patrick, in the person of the illustrious Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh. He became the restorer of the old foundations, and the founder of new ones. He reopened the school of Bangor, and founded, or completed, the college of Armagh. He introduced the Cistercian order, and sent pupils to graduate at Clairvaux, under his dear friend St. Bernard. He held several synods, revived discipline, repaired sacred edifices, and set, in his own life, the holy example of a perfect bishop. Five of his contemporaries are canonized as saints — the best proof that he had worthy and zealous fellow-labor-

* A. D. 1073, they rendered homage to the Ard-righ Thorlogh; A. D. 1095, to the Ard-righ Mortogh; A. D. 1164, to McMurrogh.

ers. The great provincial families vied with each other in contributing material to the restoration of religion. Then Holy Cross was founded by the O'Briens; then Cong and Sligo rose upon the grants of the O'Connors; then Mellifont raised its noble front heavenward; then Ardagh, Kells, Ferns, Lismore, Clonmacnoise, and Boyle rejoiced in the return of their long-absent glory. St. Malachy died at Armagh in 1148; but the good work did not pause. In 1152, the council of Kells was held by the legate, Cardinal Papiron, where the *palliums* (or Roman capes) were duly delivered to the four archbishops, and where, also, a memorable event — the abolition of the slavery of Saxon domestics — was decreed.

The Irish church might now have looked for another apostolic age. But it was not so ordered. A new trial in the civil order awaited pastors and people. As Maolmorra had invited the Danish invasion long before, so his descendant, Dermid, banished for political and personal crimes, conspired to bring in the Normans. Though guilty and unpopular, he had a party in Leinster, and when, in 1169, that party was reënforced by a few foreign knights, the Danish town of Wexford opened its gates to them. The next year, Danish Waterford received a further detachment of his allies, under Richard, Earl of Pembroke; and then the wedge entered that divided beyond repair the uncentralized native constitution. In 1172, Henry II. visited Ireland, and made compacts with some of its princes, and prescribed limits to his own subjects, settled on the eastern coast. Under enterprising leaders, at different times, these limits were enlarged in various directions. De Courcy, Fitzgerald, Butler, and De Burgo are the great names of the Normans in Ireland. Against them, the Milesians may put, without fear or shame, the O'Briens, O'Connors, and O'Neils. The fluctuating frontiers of the Norman interest during four centuries show that the children of the Scotii knew how to guard their land against the descendants of the Danes.

This internecine, colonial, or civil war was necessarily highly prejudicial to the best interests of religion.

National feuds were carried into the chapter, the cloister, and even the pulpit. Henry's chaplain, Giraldus, taunted the Archbishop of Cashel that the Irish church was without martyrs. "We will have martyrs enough now that your master has come among us," was the prompt reply. Giraldus, in a sermon at Christ Church, Dublin, reflected on the native clergy. The next day, Auban O'Molloy, Abbot of Glendalough, from the same pulpit preached a retort, in which there are allusions to St. Thomas à Becket not to be misunderstood. These were but faint portents of troubles and collisions to come. Among the native clergy, most conspicuous was St. Lawrence, Archbishop of Dublin. Visiting England, he narrowly escaped martyrdom, while celebrating mass at the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury; going to Rome, he is ordered by Henry not to return to his see, the metropolis of which is now under the English flag. He died an exile, at Eu, in Normandy. In 1175, Primate Conor died at Rome, whither he had gone to consult the successor of St. Peter. In 1215, Dionysius, Archbishop of Cashel, also died at Rome; the same year, returning from the fourth Lateran council, died O'Heney, Bishop of Killallo. The native bishops have frequent and urgent occasions for appealing to Rome. Besides instigating to invasion and plunder, the Kings of England claim a right of nomination to Irish bishoprics not to be borne. Thus David, a relative of Fitz Henry's, being appointed, in 1208, Bishop of Waterford, is slain in a tumult, endeavoring to get possession of it; thus, in 1224, we have "Robert, the English Bishop," of Ardagh. In 1236, Maolmorra O'Laughlin, "having obtained the pope's letters, with the consent of the king," is consecrated Archbishop of Tuam, in England. In 1258, when a successor to this prelate was to be chosen, the suffragans of Tuam nominated O'Flynn, but the King of England nominated Walter, of Salerna. Walter died the same year, and so a collision was avoided.*

* Annals of the Four Masters, under the several dates in the text. In addition to these nominations, we find, in 1246, Albert of Cologne nominated for Armagh; in 1267, a "Roman Bishop" of Clonfert, and in 1530, a Greek Bishop of Elphin.

The same fierce contest of nationalities was carried into the monastic houses. Mellifont totally excluded men of English birth, for which it was severely censured by the chapter of the order. Donald O'Neil complains, by name, of English monks who preached the extermination of the Irish; at Bective, Conal, and Jerpoint, no Irish brother of the order may enter. Many years and many reprimands were needed to take the edge off this deadly, criminal quarrel, and to establish religious unity between the two races. Happily, in the fourteenth century, this better spirit generally prevailed. The statute of Kilkenny (A. D. 1367) enacted in vain a decree of non-intercourse; the union went on.*

Through warfare, and faction, and national controversies, the great duty of education was not neglected. Flan O'Gorman and other scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is written, "studied twenty years in the schools of France and England." Armagh College being declared sole school of theology, seven thousand scholars are counted there at one time. The Dominicans of Dublin bridge the Liffey for the convenience of their scholars; Archbishop de Bicknor projects and commences a University of St. Patrick's, for which bulls are issued at Rome; St. Nicholas College, at Galway, begins to make itself known to the learned. At Oxford, there are national feuds between "the three nations," and a serious riot on Palm Sunday, 1274. The Irish students are prohibited from entering the English colleges after this, and so remain at home, or betake themselves to Paris. The great mental rivalry between the two races was favorable to learning.

Among the laity, even the noblest, there is no lack of devotion. Godfrey and Richard count some of them among their followers, as the zealous Tasso sings: "the concert of Christendom" was completed by "the Irish harp." Ullgarg O'Rorke died beside the Jordan in 1231;

* The native saints were popularly supposed to avenge their invaded country. Dermid McMurrogh died by the interposition of St. Columbcille, and Strongbow by St. Bridge's; St. Kiaran saved Clonmacnoise "from the King of England's constable;" *i. e.*, De Lacy.

Hugh O'Connor, grandson of Roderick, died on his return from Jerusalem in 1224. Roderick himself died in the religious habit, at Cong, in 1198, having spent five years in the cloister. In his will he left offerings to the churches at Rome and Jerusalem. During the two succeeding centuries, almost every second obituary of an Irish noble states that he "gained the victory over the devil and the world," in the religious house and habit of some regular order. When St. John of Matha founded his noble brotherhood for the redemption of captives, Ireland erected fifty-three houses of that order — as many as England and Scotland put together. Such was the Irish church of the middle ages.

In the state, the provincial rulers still maintained their rank and title; but though many noble names are mentioned as "worthy heirs of the crown of Ireland," no regular election to that high office seems to have taken place during the three centuries following the death of Roderick.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND ELECTED KING OF IRELAND. — ANTECEDENTS OF THIS ELECTION. — THE CLERGY NOT CONSULTED. — THE CHIEFS CANVASSED INDIVIDUALLY. — AFTER THE ELECTION. — APOSTATE BISHOPS. — CONFISCATION, SACRILEGE, AND REFORMATION.

The election of Henry VIII. of England as King of Ireland is one of the primary facts in the history of both nations. To our present purpose its consideration is indispensable.

The Kings of England, from Henry II. to Henry VII., had always claimed the lordship of a part of Ireland. Sometimes, in the purposely indefinite language of diplomacy, they had styled themselves "*Dominus Hiberniæ*," without qualification. This title they assumed in the same sense that the Danish Vi-kings of Dublin and

Waterford, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, had styled themselves "kings" of the whole country. The bulls of Popes Adrian and Alexander, which were relied on as the foundation of their title, were couched in very general terms, and the non-fulfilment of their conditions necessarily rendered the title conditionally given of no legal authority. During the thirteenth century, the Holy War, in the fourteenth, the wars with France and Scotland, postponed the formal assertion of sovereignty. At the close of the fourteenth, the young Richard II., a candidate for the empire, was tauntingly told, by the German electors, to "conquer Ireland first." Under the instigation of this taunt, his expeditions of 1394 and 1399 were undertaken, in which Art. McMurrogh won a deathless name, Henry IV. his knightly spurs, and Richard II. lost his early character for courage, and finally his crown. While Richard was absent in Ireland, the banished Duke of Lancaster returned to England, seized the government, and captured his luckless predecessor. Thus commenced, with the next century, that civil war of the roses, which closed on Bosworth Field in 1485. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the conqueror upon that day, was a bastard, like William of Normandy; he conquered, like William, with foreign men and arms. Still, the parliament confirmed his title; and his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the lawful representative of the royal line, as well as the strong desire of all Englishmen for peace at any price, gave a sanction and a strength to his claims, which no other king had obtained in the same century. The present British monarchy properly dates from the battle of Bosworth Field.

Henry VII.'s administration needs to be known, in order to understand the more important reign of his son. The one prepared the way for the other, in church and state, in Ireland and in England. The leading idea of the new king was, the centralization of all power and patronage in the hands of the sovereign. Money was his darling object; taxation and confiscation his favorite means. An insurrection in Yorkshire, in the second year of his reign, and the successive attempts of two

claimants to the throne, in the Yorkist interest, gave him the desired opportunities. The Duchess of Burgundy, the Kings of France and Scotland, patronized both "the pretenders." But their main strength lay in Ireland, among the Geraldines and other nobles of "the Pale," who, whatever they may have thought of the title of Simnel or Warbeck, were politic enough to see that a strongly-established dynasty would be likely to enforce its authority over their baronial demesnes. In 1486, they crowned Simnel at Dublin, and paid him homage. Joined by two thousand Burgundians under Schwartz, they invaded England the following June, landed at Foudray, in Lancashire, and gave battle to Henry at Stoke upon the Trent. They were defeated. Among the dead were the Lords Maurice and Thomas Fitzgerald, the Earl of Lincoln and Martin Schwartz. Simnel was taken prisoner, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen. Soon a more formidable pretender appeared, under the title of Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV. In 1495, he landed at Cork, where the mayor of the city, O'Water, the Earl of Desmond, and many others, declared their belief in his legitimacy, and rendered him homage. He tried his fortune in Kent, failed, and returned to Flanders. He again went to Ireland, and from Ireland landed in Cornwall, where he gained three thousand adherents. Advancing towards London, his forces were surrounded near Taunton, and himself captured. In 1498, he was executed on a charge of attempting to escape from the Tower. The mayor of Cork and his son suffered with him at Tyburn.

With his usual policy, Henry VII. made these attempts occasions for new taxes and new confiscations. The insurgents were pardoned at so much per head; the poor for twenty pence, the rich for two hundred pounds. Cities and corporations were taxed according to their numbers, the London merchants paying not less than ten thousand pounds. The Parliament of 1497 voted him twelve thousand pounds and three fifteenths of the revenues. Sir William Capell compounded for one thousand pounds; the Earl of Derby was pardoned

for six thousand pounds. We need not wonder, that in a few years Henry became one of the richest kings in Europe.

Not only did he gather in riches, but power also. In his reign the feudal law of "maintenance," which made the followers of each lord his dependants, in peace or war, was abolished. The sheriffs of counties, instead of being local administrators, were now royal deputies. The Parliament at Westminster swallowed all the palatine and ducal courts of the kingdom, and in its fulness became the contented slave of the king. Private property was converted into royal fiefs; estated orphans were made royal wards; common lands were enclosed and sold. The same arbitrary and avaricious policy was attempted with the church. The chapter of York purchases a concession with one thousand marks; the Bishop of Bath, at his nomination, undertakes to pay one hundred pounds per year to the king; a Carthusian monastery, for the renewal of its charter, pays five thousand pounds. In these signs it is not difficult to foresee another Henry improving on the paternal examples of avarice and absolutism.

Ireland had been dangerous to the new dynasty in its first years, but the double defeat of the Yorkists had taught the Pales-men wisdom. The Earls of Kildare and Desmond paid heavily for Henry's forgiveness; and the colonial Parliament, which sat at Drogheda in 1497, was quite as slavish as that which sat at Westminster. The English deputy in Ireland, Sir Edward Poynings, was a fit minister for such a master. He obtained the consent of the Parliament, that, in future, all heads of bills should be sent into England for the previous approval of the king and council. This act, known as Poynings's law, is celebrated in Irish parliamentary discussions, both of the last and the previous century.* For the time, it effectually secured the dependence of the Anglo-Irish barons on the new dynasty.†

* In 1782, and at the time of the legislative union, Poynings's law was a principal topic of parliamentary debate in both kingdoms.

† Among those who did homage at Dublin were Gerald, Earl of

Anxious to atone for their double rebellion, and to reimburse themselves for the heavy fines twice levied on them, the nobles of the Pale were disposed to renew the struggle of races, which had been suspended for more than a century. The statute of Kilkenny forbidding intermarriages was, from the first, a dead letter in two thirds of the island. Fitzgeralds, Burkes, and Butlers had constantly intermarried with O'Connors, O'Neils, and O'Briens. There was a near prospect of national unity, when Poynings, under the instigation of his royal master, insinuated the Roman policy, "divide and conquer." In 1504, we find the new loyalists, with their Milesian connections, engaged in the deadly battle of Knoc-Tuadh with the native Irish under O'Connor and O'Brien, and the naturalized Normans under Burke of Clanrickarde and Bermingham of Athenry. Kildare, Gormanstown, and Howth commanded for King Henry, and the dead who were left on that hard-fought field would outnumber those who fell at Bosworth and Stoke piled together. Knoc-Tuadh ("the hill of the battle-axes") is one of the most memorable battles in the war-like history of the Irish. Henry was well avenged that day for the aid Ireland had given to the pretended dukes of Clarence and York. He did not live to reap all the fruits of his great victory; but this, with many other advantages, he bequeathed to his successor.

In 1509, at the age of eighteen, the future "reformer" found himself a king. His very first act was significant of his evil career. Immediately after his coronation, he sent for the oath he had publicly sworn, and privately altered it.

"He had sworn to 'maintain of Holy Church, granted "by the ancient Christian Kings of England;' he added, "'as far as they will not be prejudicial to his jurisdiction "and royal dignity.' He had sworn to 'maintain peace "between Holy Church, the clergy, and the people;' for "this he substituted that he should 'endeavor to work

Kildare, the Archbishop of Dublin, Eustace, Lord Portlester, Preston, Lord Gormanstown, the Barons of Howth, Trimbleston, Slaine, and Dunsany, the Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, and the Prior of Holmpatrick, Wicklow.

"with the people and clergy under the royal dominion.' "He had sworn to 'maintain justice and equity, and yet "to be merciful;' this he altered into a promise to 'grant "mercy to him who, according to his conscience, should "merit it.' He had sworn to 'maintain the laws of the "kingdom, and the customs of the nation;' 'without "prejudice,' he wrote, 'to the rights of the crown, or his "imperial dignity.' Henry, after making these altera- "tions, closed the book, and said not a word of what "he had done." *

It is not our place to detail the history of this reign. For the first twenty years of his life, Henry was governed by a great but unscrupulous minister, Cardinal Wolsey. On the 30th of November, 1530, the cardinal's body was lowered into a vault at Leicester, and with him was buried the last restraint upon the terrible passions of the master he had so long served and controlled.

The seeds of "reformation" were silently growing up in England before and during Wolsey's time. The controversy upon the king's divorce, and the heat it produced, gave vigor to the rank productions of schismatic scholars. So early as 1523, the king began to express scruples touching the lawfulness of his marriage with Katherine, who had been betrothed to his elder brother, Arthur, and after Arthur's death married to him. For ten years, he tried every art and every influence to obtain the dispensation of Rome, but in vain. His own power, the book against Luther so highly valued, the mediation of France, all failed to procure the desired divorce. At length, devoured by passion and impatience, he resolved to cast off the bonds of spiritual obedience which had united England with Christendom for eight centuries. The successive steps of the schism followed rapidly on each other. In 1529, he proposed, but postponed, the law for the confiscation of the lesser monasteries. In 1531, he obliged the clergy, under the penalty of *præmunire*, (transportation from the realm,) to acknowledge his supremacy in spirituals. In 1532, from the national convocation of the clergy, he obtained his divorce. In

* Audin's Henry VIII. p. 28.

1533 took place his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and the birth of Elizabeth, which followed rather quickly upon it. In 1535, the royal "order in council" appeared, ordering the omission "of the name of the bishop of Rome from every liturgical book;" and the same year Lord Chancellor More and Bishop Fisher died, martyrs of the faith, for their resistance to the new ordinances.

While these events were transpiring in England, Henry, through his agents, was urging forward a favorite project in Ireland — the conversion of his title from a lordship granted by the pope, to a kingship by election of the estates, and the consequent modification of the titles, tenures, and laws of Ireland, upon the feudal basis. To this design, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, seems to have been an obstacle, and accordingly was summoned to London. There he was charged with having, among other offences, married one of his daughters to O'Donnell, and another to O'Connor, of Offally. He was sent to the Tower, where, the following December, he died. A false report having reached Dublin, in 1534, of his execution, his son, called, from the splendor of his dress, "Silken Thomas," and others, his relatives, flew to arms. O'Neil, O'Connor, and O'Moore sent him supplies and men. He began the siege of Dublin, and entered into a treaty with the citizens, and exchanged hostages to insure their neutrality. At Clontarf he cut off a small reënforcement which had landed from England; and greater supplies, under skilful captains, followed. After keeping the field, with various fortunes, for more than a year, he was induced to surrender to the king's mercy. His five uncles followed his example; but in February, 1536, they all six suffered death at Tyburn, with some of their adherents. This danger, and the consideration shown abroad to the emissaries of the Irish leaders, increased Henry's anxiety to be possessed of the crown of Ireland by a title apparently legal and spontaneous. Whether the project originated with Wolsey, or in the controversy with Rome, or earlier, it certainly was much more zealously urged after the revolt of Silken Thomas than it had been before.

The nature of the divorce controversy was not gen-

erally understood in Ireland. Henry's book against Luther was better known than his correspondence about the queen. His "Confession" of 1536, with the essential exception of the Papal supremacy, was altogether Catholic. His "Six Articles" of 1539 all affirmed Catholic doctrines. It was the policy of Henry that the Irish should be as much in doubt of his real purpose as diplomacy could leave them. In 1535, he had appointed George Browne, a partisan of the divorce, and an Englishman, Archbishop of Dublin; but when the new prelate caused the *Baculus Jesus* and other sacred relics to be burned, he was rebuked for his precipitancy. In June of that year, he writes to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, that "there goeth a common rumor," that he intended to pluck down our Lady of Trim, and other idols; "which indeed," he adds, "I never attempted, although my conscience would right well serve me to oppresse such ydols." In 1539, Con O'Neil, Prince of Ulster, taking alarm at the rumors which had reached him, marched southward, and after taking Ardee and Navan, reviewed his troops at Tara. On his return, at Bellahoe, in Monaghan, he was surprised and defeated by the Lord Deputy Grey, who, after the battle, proceeded to Trim, where the famous statue of our Lady stood, and the deputy, "very devoutly kneeling before her, heard three or four masses;" the archbishop and Lord Butler, the treasurer, refused to go in. The next year, this deputy was superseded by Anthony St. Leger, who, in 1541, succeeded in assembling "the great court" at Dublin, for the long-desired election.

Those who attended for this purpose were of two classes — Anglo-Irish barons, and Milesian-Irish chiefs; the clergy, by a device of St. Leger's, contrary to all former usage, were not summoned. Of the barons, the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, and nearly all the Leinster viscounts were present; of the Celtic chiefs, those of secondary rank were numerous, but the principals were few. Until their suffrages were taken, it was felt necessary to postpone the proclamation.

The absent chiefs were separately consulted, and

their consent obtained on terms such as usually existed between vassal and sovereign in continental countries. O'Brien, O'Connor Faily, and O'Dun acknowledged the title in June and July, 1541; O'Donnell acknowledged it on the 6th of August, in the same year; O'Neil at Maynooth, in 1542; O'Moore on the 13th of May; M'Carthy, O'Sullivan, O'Callaghan, and O'Ruarc, in September; and M'Donnell of the Glens, and M'William Burke, on the 18th of May, 1543. In each case, the acknowledgment was made on the stipulation that each chief was to remain "head of his nation," and that the ancient rights and laws of each clan were to be respected. With this guaranty, they agreed that the national crown, which from the thirteenth century had not been conferred upon any aspirant, should be united to the crown of England. In 1542, the Dublin heralds announced that "his majesty is now, as he hath always of right been, acknowledged by *the nobility and commons of Ireland to be king of the same*," &c. In January, 1543, he was proclaimed, in similar terms, in London; and in 1544, when the suffrages of the chiefs were complete, the old seals of office in Ireland were cancelled, and new ones sent to Sir William Brabazon, who was the first viceroy. "The collation of this royal dignity by the Irish nation alone," says Mr. Plowden, "is a proof and a full recognition by England of the absolute sovereignty and independence of the Irish nation." * The absence of the bishops and lord abbots from the great court is a memorable omission. The Irish church stands acquitted of imposing the present dynasty on that country.

The English ambassadors abroad were directed to procure the acknowledgment of the new title, which, after some diplomatic delays, was universally conceded. One of the parties, who was most reluctant to admit it, was the King of Scotland.†

---

* Plowden's Ireland, vol. i., p. 62.

† Pinkerton's History of Scotland. The Irish sovereignty was considered one of the most ancient in Europe, as the following anecdote proves: At the council of Constance, in 1417, where the legate of Henry V. disputed precedence with the legate of France, priority was awarded to the English agent expressly on account of his king's partial sover-

The chiefs of the great court proceeded in 1542 to Greenwich Palace, where they formally presented Henry the crown of Brian and of Roderick. In exchange, patents of nobility were made out for them; and O'Neil, O'Brien, and Burke returned Earls of Tyrone, of Thomond, and of Clanrickarde. These new titles, and the new code which they announced, gave great dissatisfaction to the clans, who now began to understand on what business their chiefs had been summoned to Dublin. They truly foresaw that this was but the beginning of actual conquest; and, in fact, at the very time the new earls were inspecting their patents at Greenwich, Henry had before him a detailed project for the confiscation of the entire soil of Ireland, prepared for his consideration by the chief baron of his Dublin exchequer.* Confiscation and Protestantism were born at a birth in the fertile mind of the newly-elected King of Ireland. Whatever charges we can bring against the Catholic Plantagenets, they certainly never proposed wholesale confiscation. That was reserved for the Defenders of the Faith and Supreme Heads of the Church, by law established.

The election over, the crown fitted to the chosen head, the earls graciously dismissed to their homes, the first attempt to introduce the reformation begins. Archbishop Browne had been a Protestant from the time of his nomination by the king; and, in his zeal for the new doctrines, had more than once impeded his master's diplomacy. In 1538, he was reprimanded for his imprudence; the same year, he made a visitation of his province, accompanied by the chancellor and others. They extended their journey as far south as Clonmel, where

---

eignty in ancient Ireland. The authority of Albertus Magnus and Bartholomæus, on that occasion, was cited, for they had divided universal history thus: —

"In the division of the world, Europe was subdivided into four great kingdoms — 1. That of Rome; 2. That of Constantinople; 3. That of Ireland; 4. That of Spain; Whence it appears the King of England, being also King of Ireland, is one of the most ancient kings of Europe."

* Baron Finglas's "Breviate of Ireland," in Harris's Hibernica.

they were met by the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and the Bishops of Leighlin, Ferns, Lismore, "Immolacen," and Limerick. Browne preached; "his sermon finished," writes his friend the chancellor, "all the said bishops in all the open audience took the oath mentioned in the acts of Parliament, both touching the king's succession and supremacy — before me, the king's chancellor; and divers others there present did the like." This statement, said to be copied from the original in the State Paper Office, is not borne out by Browne's reports of the same year, 1538, to Secretary Cromwell. He states, "I endeavor myself, and also cause others of my clergy, to preach the gospel of Christ, and set forth the king's cause;" with what success he does not say. The same year, Agard, an official, writes to Cromwell, that, "excepte the Archbishop of Dublin, only Lord Butler, the master of the rolls, Mr. Treasurer, and one or two more of small reputations, none may abide the hearing of *it*, (the king's supremacy,) spiritual, as they call them, or temporal."*

The burning of the "Baculus Jesus," this year, was a wanton and fruitless sacrilege. It was a relic which had been held in universal veneration from the earliest Christian times. Every Life of St. Patrick agrees in the tradition, that on his journey to Rome, it was given him by a hermit of the Tyrrhene Sea, as a staff which our blessed Redeemer himself had carried. Our earliest records notice it as existing at Armagh; that it was used to swear by, and to quell social war. Mailsheachlan, coming into the tent of the monarch, Thurlogh O'Brien, A. D. 1080, bearing this staff, induced him to turn back from an invasion of Leinster; in 1143, peace between Connaught and Ulster was ratified by an oath taken on this staff; in 1184, it was translated to Dublin, probably by Philip de Worcester; and so late as 1529, we find oaths taken "upon the holie Masebooke and the

* Correspondence cited in the Preface to the Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church: Dublin, (published by the Archæological Society,) 1844.

great relike of Erlonde, called Baculum Christi, in presence of the king's deputie, chancellor, tresoror, and justice." The public destruction of this venerable relic was sure to be bruited abroad over the kingdom, and equally, to produce indignation and opposition. The politicians interposed to prevent the repetition of such indiscretions. In another letter, Browne writes that he has contradicted a rumor that he "intended to pluck down our Lady of Trim and other idols," although he adds, his heart well enough inclined him thereto.

At the "Great Court" of 1541, an abstract of the laws and ordinances of the Pale was made and decreed the basis of the future Irish code. One of these ordinances, thus confirmed, was in these words:—

"I. That the church of Ireland shall be free and enjoy all its accustomed privileges.

"II. That the land of Ireland shall hereafter enjoy all its franchises and privileges, as it used to do before."*

Notwithstanding these guaranties, the election of Henry was scarcely over when the reformers renewed their work. When asked their authority, they produced a commission "dated two years before," which constituted Dr. Browne and four others a tribunal of inspection and examination. Armed men attended them from church to church, hewing down the crucifix with their swords, defiling the sacred vessels, and defacing the monuments of the dead. "There was not," says the contemporary annalist, "a holy cross, nor an image of Mary, nor other celebrated image in Ireland," within the reach of the reformers, or near their fortresses, "that they did not burn." † The celebrated image at Trim, so

* Cited in the Irish Commons' Journals, A. D. 1641. Of course "the Church of Ireland," in Henry VII.'s reign, could only mean the Holy Roman Catholic church.

† "A. D. 1537. A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vainglory, avarice, sensual desire, and the prevalence of a variety of scientific and philosophical speculations, so that the people of England went into opposition to the pope and to Rome. At the same time they followed a variety of opinions, and the old law of Moses, after the manner of the Jewish people, and they gave the title of Head of the Church of God to the king. There were enacted by the king

long respited, "which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and every disease in like manner," — to which women in labor offered gifts, and all Ireland rendered respect, — was "burned" with the rest. "The image of Christ crucified, in the Abbey of Ballybogan," also suffered. Pilgrims were forbidden free passage through English districts and towns, and the favored shrines of the faithful were all swept into the treasury of Dublin. The commissioners declared that Henry's warrant directed them to "break in pieces, deform, and bear away the same, so that no fooleries of this kind might henceforth forever be in use in the said land." Nothing loath, they traversed the Pale, keeping well clear of less guarded ground. The churches of Dublin fell first under their iconoclastic fury. The relics of St. Brendan and St. Lawrence in Christ Church were burned. Of the statues but one — the image of our Lady, placed over "Le Dame's Gate," escaped by being buried in the well of Whitefriars. Its contemporaries all perished. "The seven orders" of religious were expelled from three hundred and seventy houses by intimidation or actual force. The cathedrals of old Leighlin and Ferns shared the fate of St. Patrick's, the English being masters of those towns.

---

and council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders who were permitted to hold worldly possessions, viz., monks, canons, nuns, and brethren of the Cross; and the four mendicant orders, viz., the Minors, the Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians. The possessions and living of all these were taken up for the king. They broke the monasteries. They sold their roofs and bells, so that there was not a monastery from Arann of the Saints to the Iccian Sea that was not broken and shattered, except only a few in Ireland, which escaped the notice and attention of the English. They further burned and broke the famous images, shrines, and relics of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary, which was at Ath-Truim, ... and the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles from the time of Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ while he was among men. They also made archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves; and although great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the church, it is not probable that ever so great a *persecution* as this ever came from Rome hither. So that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be told by him who saw it." — *Annals of Ulster*, commonly called "*The Four Masters.*"

The gold, silver, and precious stones, gathered by the commissioners, is rated (by them) at £326 2*s.* 11*d.;* other stuffs "of superstition" at £1710 2*s.;* and one thousand pounds of wax tapers, at £20. When we consider the value of money in that age, this was no inconsiderable spoil from four out of the, then, numerous dioceses of the kingdom.* One of the most active of the commissioners was Chief Baron Finglass, who had prepared shortly before a "Breviate of the State of Ireland," in which he roughly estimates the strength of the Celtic chiefs; urges the policy of confiscating their lands, and offering their "settlement" to "young gentlemen of good family out of England." † He goes into the details of this plunder very deliberately; and to him belongs the first suggestion of that series of confiscations which Elizabeth, the Stuarts, Cromwell, and William followed up; which Cecil, Raleigh, Bacon, Milton, and Clarendon advocated or defended; and which ceased only when there was nothing further left to confiscate. The wholesale civil confiscations were deferred till the churches were first stripped of their wealth. One robbery at a time was considered enough.

The monasteries and churches which stood beyond the Pale, and still enjoyed the protection of native chiefs, were partly donated to adventurers, "if they could conquer them," and the principal corporators of walled towns had the rest, in order to interest them in the progress of plunder. The northern abbeys (untouched for many years after) were vested in the Chichesters, Caufields, and renegade McDonnells; the southern were conferred on the Protestant Lord Butler, Sir John King, and others; the midland and western on the Dillons, Plunketts, Croftons, Taafes, and the Earls of Clanrickarde and Thomond. The corporate towns were also tempted with the spoils: Dublin got All Hallows and other houses; Drogheda got Mellifont; Limerick, Inniscattery; Clonmell, Wa-

* Original Report, Records Office, Dublin. Mant's Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

† "Breviate of Ireland," in Harris's Hibernica.

terford, and Carrickfergus were equally endowed. Thus the interests, the selfish interests, of a large body of bad men, in town and country, became inextricably inwoven with heresy, and the roots of one race were planted in the mouldering foundations of the other. The O'Neils were robbed to enrich the Chichesters, the McCarthys to build up the Butlers, the O'Sullivans to endow the Boyles and Kings, and the rich abbeys of the pious O'Connors fell a prey to the Burkes and Croftons. Henry's commissioners of course did not neglect themselves. Browne, in imitation of his friend Cranmer, had married a wife, and pleaded that he had a family to provide for. He complains in his letters that he was refused "Grace Dieu" and "a very poor abbey of friars, near Ballymore." As a consolation, he was endowed with lands and abbeys in other counties, which we find his descendants enjoying two generations later. After that his family vanishes from the records of the state.

The Irish church was as a rich argosy abandoned by its officers, the civil rulers, to be rummaged and preyed on by pirates. Besides the fifty cathedrals of its ancient dioceses, besides the numerous colleges enriched by the piety of early times, besides the many places of pilgrimage where the offerings of successive centuries were stored up, there were, to excite avarice and reward apostasy, nearly six hundred houses of the religious orders. The Augustinian orders, male and female, could count two hundred and fifty-six of their own foundations; the Cistercian houses were forty-four; the Benedictine, fourteen; the Dominicans, forty-one; the Franciscan orders, one hundred and fourteen; the Carmelites, twenty-nine; the Knights Hospitallers, twenty-two; the Hermits of St. Augustine, twenty-four; the Trinitarians, fourteen; the Norbertines, eight; the Bernardines, two Besides these, there were a few houses, under the rule of St. Bridget, and St. Columbcille, and a priory of Culdees at Armagh.* Some of these houses, especially

* In Archdall's Monasticon there is an incomplete list of five hundred and sixty-three Irish houses confiscated.

those of the Cistercian order, founded at the time of the restoration of religion, were endowed with large possessions and many privileges. They afforded pieces of silver enough for every Judas that could be found.

Henry VIII. did not live to direct the work he had commenced. Ulcerated in body and mind, he died a death of exquisite agony, in January, 1547. The daily fluctuations of his creed, during the last years of his life, had prevented any regular system of Protestant propagandism. The work of plunder, however, was zealously carried on by the king and the apostates, high and low. That method of conversion needed neither council nor confession of faith. It proceeded with complete success in every shire at the same time. In Ireland, it was limited only by the extent of military force, at the command of Dr. Browne, Lord Butler, Baron Finglass, and their fellow-commissioners. It took a full century to complete the grand scheme of sacrilege and spoliation which they devised.

The character of Henry, as exhibited in his Irish policy, is a compound of duplicity and ferocity. His treacherous execution of the six Geraldines; his dissimulation before the act of election, and his instant use of his new powers for purposes of confiscation; his choice of agents, in church and state, such as Lord Leonard Grey and Archbishop Browne; his imposition of the oath of supremacy, — these high crimes against religion and law fully entitle him to be reckoned among the greatest criminals known to mankind. He united all the passions of Nero to all the crafty intelligence of Tiberius. His end was like theirs, a memorable manifestation of God's justice beginning in this world.

His election introduced that vicious confusion into the civil affairs of Ireland which has not yet been eliminated. It altered every thing old and salutary; it was a radical revolution. It substituted an heretical foreign king, an apostate, anti-national clergy, and an aristocracy of conquest, for native princes, a Catholic hierarchy, and the old tenures which secured the soil to its cultivators. The form of election was just sufficiently legal to con-

stitute a *de facto* government, and yet was unconstitutional enough to render debatable every extreme exercise of its authority. A doubtful allegiance and a vicious authority were, in the political order, counterparts of the first attempt to introduce the reformation into Ireland. We can hardly be surprised to find, three years after Henry's election, the Anglo-Irish Earl of Ormond poisoned at London for opposing his government, or, the same year, (1545,) the Milesian Irish chiefs in secret treaty with Francis I. of France, who sent John de Montluc, as his envoy into Ulster. All they asked to shake off the yoke of England, was the pope's sanction, "two thousand arquebuses, two hundred light horsemen, and four cannon." * But the complications of French policy delayed any action upon this, the first projected Catholic insurrection.

CHAPTER III.

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN MARY. — CRANMER'S ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND. — THE FIRST CATHOLIC INSURRECTION. — ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY. — CATHOLIC REACTION. — RESTORATION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS. — DEATH OF QUEEN MARY. — STATE OF PARTIES.

The boy Edward, son of Henry VIII. by Lady Jane Seymour, was crowned king, in 1547, in the tenth year of his age. His mother's brother, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, was declared protector of the kingdom, during the minority of his nephew.

The ruler of England, in matters of religion, during the reign of Edward, or rather the protectorate of Somerset, was Thomas Cranmer, a native of Nottingham, who, from being an expelled scholar of Oxford,

---

* Cox, Rerum Hib. Anglicarum.

and the husband of the barmaid of the Dolphin Inn, had risen to the rank of King Henry's Archbishop of Canterbury. He had first attracted the king's attention by writing in favor of the divorce of Queen Katharine; he had secretly married the niece of the reformer Osiander, while he still pretended to be a Catholic and a bishop; he had assisted at the marriage, the accusation, and sentence of the four queens, whom Henry successively espoused and put away. By consenting to every thing, he had at last overcome every thing, and, next to the regent, was the most powerful man in the kingdom.

Ireland attracted, early, Cranmer's attention. An order in council commanding the use of the new liturgy in that kingdom was issued; another order commanded the administration of the oath of allegiance; another transferred the primacy from Armagh to Dublin, much to the satisfaction of George Browne. Some new bishops of Cranmer's making — among them Dr. Goodacre for Armagh, Dr. Lancaster for Kildare, Dr. Bale for Ossory, and Dr. Travers for Leighlin were sent over. They were providently accompanied by six hundred horse and four hundred foot, under Sir Edward Bellingham, "a man of great valor, and celebrated for military science," who was honored with the title of "marshal and captain general of Ireland." The old bishops, being summoned to Dublin, to take the oath of allegiance, boldly refused, with three sorrowful exceptions, Myler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, Staples, Bishop of Meath, and Quinn, or Coyn, Bishop of Limerick. The apostasy of Magrath alone excited attention, the other two being "nominations" of Henry. The laity of his diocese rose in a tumult of indignation, and ordered him to leave the city of Cashel, where Dr. Edmund Butler, son of the Earl of Ormond, was enthroned in his stead. Magrath fled into England, and threw himself on the bounty of Cranmer. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, we find him, for a time, intruding in the see of Lismore, and, except in the polemical songs of the age, we hear of him no more. James I.'s captains in Munster did not

spare his heirs, though they pleaded their kindred "to Milerus, late archbishop." The other "king's bishops" succeeded little better. Dr. Goodacre, having the fear of Shane O'Neil before his eyes, never ventured to Armagh; Dr. Bale, under cover of Ormond Castle, entered Kilkenny. He preached "very peaceably" so long as the Irish did not understand him; but when he ordered his menials to pull down images and crosses, they rose, "slew five of his servants, and barely suffered him to escape."* Dr. Lancaster's diocese lay among the O'Connors and O'Moores of Offally and Leix, who had no very strong desire for his administration. They rose in arms against it, and Bellingham marched to support the bishop. A battle was fought at Three Castles, in Kilkenny, in which the Catholics were defeated, and Maurice "of the Wood," son of the Earl of Kildare, was taken prisoner. He, with two of his nephews, was executed at Dublin. The bishop and the foreign soldiery triumphed: they built or repaired forts in Offally and Leix, and strongly garrisoned Cork, Belfast, and Athlone. These garrisons, when not otherwise employed, were allowed to make descents upon the churches and schools of the adjacent country. At Down, they mutilated the shrine of Sts. Patrick, Bridget, and Columbcille. Taking to their longboats, the northern garrison plundered the shrines of Rathlin Islet, and coming to Derry, they assailed the Black Abbey of St. Columbcille, in which so many princes and prelates had laid down mitre and crown. Here, Shane O'Neil's forbearance ended, and with the red hand of Ulster, he brushed the wretches out. Four miles above Athlone, on the sloping banks of the Shannon, stood the seven churches, the castle, round tower, and village of Clonmacnoise. There St. Kiaran died, and their Abbot Tighernan O'Broin, after the Danish desolations gathered together the early annals of our race. In a sudden foray, the garrison of Athlone surrounded Clonmacnoise, slew all its religious inhabitants who remained, mutilated the tombs of chiefs and abbots, and carried

* Life of Dr. Bale, prefixed to his works.

off the rich shrine of its saint. Donald O'Brien, of Thomond, worthy of his name, rose in arms on receiving this intelligence, captured, in rapid succession, the garrisons of Clare and Limerick, and in the decisive battle of Thurles, where, nearly four centuries before, his ancestor had routed Strongbow, he cleared the southern counties, for that generation, of the reformers.*

On Leix and Offally the forces of the captain-general were concentrated. Defeated in several engagements, O'Moore and O'Connor agreed to refer their case to the protector. On reaching London, with some friends, they were cast into the Tower, where O'Moore died in his chains. O'Connor's son found safety in exile at the court of Margaret of Scotland. Their districts were declared confiscated to the crown, and in the next reign were called King's and Queen's county. Bellingham boasted that he had been the first to enlarge the limits of "the Pale," since the days of Edward III. This boast was not only well founded in this instance, but in another; in 1550, the head of the old royal house of McMurrogh, who had not participated in the election of Henry, "made his submission" in Dublin.

The lord deputy having received an order in council, dated the 6th of February, 1551, commanding the use of the new liturgy in all the churches, in flagrant violation of the conditions of the election of 1541, immediately summoned the bishops, as he had ten years before summoned the barons. They assembled, on the 1st of March, at Dublin, the Catholics led by Primate Dowdal, the heretics by Dr. Browne. After a lengthy discussion, "the primate and his party left the assembly. The Archbishop of Dublin remained and received the king's order, commending it to those of his brethren who were present;" that is, to Staples, Lancaster, Travers,

* The plunder of Clonmacnoise is thus stated in the Annals: "They took the large bells out of the steeple, and left neither large nor small bell, image, altar, book, gem, nor even glass in a window in the walls of the church, that they did not carry with them; and that truly was a lamentable deed to plunder the city of St. Kiaran, the patron saint." — *Annals of the Four Masters.* A. D. 1552.

and Coyn, or Quin, who were already Protestants. On Easter day following, Christ Church Cathedral beheld for the first time the "celebration of divine worship according to the English liturgy." The viceroy, the mayor, and the bailiffs were present. Dr. Browne "preached an able sermon from the 18th verse of the 119th psalm" — "*Open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of the law.*" *

St. Leger, having conducted this second negotiation to a result, was recalled after Easter, and Sir James Crofts sent over in his stead. One of his instructions was, "to propagate the worship of God in the English tongue; and the service to be translated into Irish, in those places which need it." He had the English liturgy printed at Dublin — one of the first books issued there. He appointed "a herald at arms, named Ulster," and performed, as his eulogist says, "many memorable acts" — most of which are now forgotten.

The death of Edward, in July, 1553, and the accession of Mary, daughter of Katharine of Arragon, gave the harassed Irish church a reprieve. Her marriage with Philip of Spain, the following year, still farther augmented this hope, which, for a season, was fulfilled, so far as the church was concerned. The banished bishops were restored to their sees, and the desecrated churches to their ancient uses. The restoration of the church lands was postponed, until, by the queen's death, it was rendered impossible.† The apostate Anglo-Irish nobles conformed to their former faith with as much alacrity as the English aristocracy. With the exception of some of the remoter Irish chiefs, the heads of the Milesians were all at peace with the state; Donald O'Brien and Shane O'Neil included. When, in the last year of Mary, her deputy marched from Dublin to Galway, he met no opposition on the way. It is stated that "the bishops

---

* Sir R. Cox's Rerum Hib. Ang. Rev. R. King's Book of the Irish Church.

† The priory of Kilmainham, restored to the knights of St. John, was the only act of restitution of this kind of property in Mary's short reign. Doubtless, if she had lived, the other religious estates would also have been restored to the right owners.

and clergy of Tuam, Clonfert, and Clonmacnoise went out to meet him in procession." The Spanish marriage had a great effect in preparing the irritated and insurrectionary spirit of the Irish people for peace. In Philip, and in Philip's influence, they had every confidence; nor was the queen without her personal claims to their regard. Apart from the heroic constancy with which she had persevered in the profession and practice of her faith, she had other good qualities, in Irish eyes.

In the reign of Edward, we have seen that O'Connor, of Offally, was imprisoned in the Tower. Six years he lingered on in that gloomy prison, from which, at length, he was delivered, in this romantic fashion. "Margaret, [his daughter] went to England on the strength of her friends there and of her knowledge of the English language, to ask the release of her father from Queen Mary; and having appealed to her mercy, she obtained the release of her father, whom she brought back with her to Ireland."* Her praise was in every mouth, in

* This heroism of Margaret O'Connor was hereditary in the women of her family. Three generations earlier, another Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll, married O'Connor, chief of Offally, retaining, after her marriage, (a not unusual custom with our ancestresses,) her maiden name. Several traits of her character, given in M'Firbiss's Annals, prove her to have been a woman of remarkable spirit and capacity. Thus we read of her pilgrimage to Compostella, and how the English of Trim, having taken several Irishmen, her neighbors, prisoners, and her lord having in his keeping certain English prisoners, she "went to Beleathatruim, and gave all the English prisoners for Mageoghan's son, and for the son's son of Art, and that unadvised to Calagh, and she brought them home." — *Mis. Irish Arch. Society*, vol i. p. 212. — "It was she," says the same annalist, "that twice in one year proclaimed to, and commonly invited, (in the dark days of the yeare,) on the feast day of Da Sinchel in Killaichy, all persons, both Irish and Scottish, or rather Albians, to the general feasts." The numbers who usually attended these feasts are set down as "upwards of 2000," by some at 2700. It is stated also, "she was the ony [one ?] woman that has made most of preparing highways and erecting bridges, churches, and mass books, and of all manner of things profitable to serve God and her soul." Her death, from cancer of the breast, is very pathetically bemoaned, as well as it might be by the M'Firbiss of her time. It took place in 1461, which is called on that account "an ungratious and unglorious yeare to all the learned in Ireland, both philosophers, poets, guests, strangers, religious persons, soldiers, mendicants, or poor orders, and to all manner and sorts of poor in Ireland." — *Mis. Irish Arch. Soc.* vol. i.

her time, and Queen Mary's was not forgotten. It was the first, and we believe it remains almost the only, case on record, where an English sovereign extended mercy to an Irish patriot prisoner.

Not alone in this, but in other cases, did Queen Mary do justice towards the Irish race. Gerald and Edward, sons of the Earl of Kildare, who had been sixteen years in exile in France and Rome, were restored to their estates and titles. The heir of Fitzpatrick, Earl of Ossory, was also permitted to return, and resume his rank and property. "The greater part of the south of Ireland were much rejoiced" at this unhoped-for restoration of ancient Catholic families. The towns and cities were in special good humor. The only retaliatory measures they took against the reformers was the infliction of some nicknames. No Protestant suffered in life, or limb, or property. Nay, adds one of themselves, "Such was the general toleration, that many English families, friends to the reformation, took refuge in Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions and worship without molestation."* Cranmer's bishops were allowed, without hindrance, to quit the country. Dr. Levérous was restored in Kildare, and Dr. Walsh, banished by Cranmer, in Meath; Dr. Hugh Curwin was appointed Archbishop of Dublin, and chan-

* Taylor's History of Ireland, vol. i. The following Protestant anecdote of this reign is inserted for "what it is worth": — "Mary despatched Dr. Cole to Ireland with a commission for punishing the Protestants; Cole stopped at Chester, and being waited on by the mayor, a Romanist, Dr. Cole's zeal outran his discretion, and he exclaimed to the mayor, while holding up a leathern box, "*Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland.*" The landlady, Elizabeth Edmonds, who was a Protestant, and had a brother of the same creed in Dublin, became alarmed, watched her opportunity, and placed a pack of cards, wrapped up in a sheet of paper, and abstracted the commission. Dr. Cole arrived in Dublin, 7th October, 1558. The lord-lieutenant convened a full council to receive Dr. Cole and hear the queen's commission read, but when with great solemnity the box was opened, nothing but a pack of cards was found. The astonished doctor declared he had received a commission, and proceeded to England to obtain another, or a copy; but while on his journey, the brief but iniquitous career of Mary was stopped, and the lives of many Protestants were saved. Mrs. Edmonds received a pension of forty pounds a year from Queen Elizabeth." — *Quoted in Martin's "Ireland."*

cellor. The pope, (Paul IV.,) in June, 1555, confirmed the title to the kingdom, which Mary inherited from her father. A national synod, held the same year, restored the canons law, and effected much for the purity of religion throughout the island. In 1556, an Irish Parliament sat at Dublin; thence was prorogued to Limerick, and afterwards to Drogheda. Very important laws and ordinances were ordained in these sittings.

"Cox mentions some acts of this Parliament which "had not been printed. In them the queen's legitimacy "was admitted; she was invested with royal authority, "and her posterity declared entitled to inherit the crown "of England and Ireland; heresy was made liable to "punishment, and ordered to be suppressed; all the acts "which were passed against the pope, since the twentieth "year of the reign of Henry VIII., were repealed, and all "concessions made by Archbishop Brown were declared "null and void; the first fruits too were restored to the "church; but all these statutes were annulled in the be-"ginning of the succeeding reign. An act was also passed "for granting the queen a subsidy of thirteen and four-"pence on every plough-land; and another, by which it "was prohibited, under pain of felony, to introduce or "receive armed Scotchmen into Ireland, or to inter-"marry with them, without a license under the great "seal."

This last law was suggested by the fact that a Scottish settlement had been formed in Antrim, by the McDonnell's and others, who held that country by main force and the connivance of O'Neil. The Scottish and Irish Gael had always considered themselves one people, and in no respect did they more entirely agree than in hatred of the Saxon. In the summer of 1556, they besieged Carrickfergus, the garrison of which had given them much trouble; but the Lord Deputy Sussex, marching northward, defeated them with great loss. They still, however, kept their forts and fields in the glens of Antrim.

The only native opposition to Queen Mary arose from the despotic attempts of Sussex and Sidney to substi-

tute the English for the Brehon law. Donald O'Brien and Shane O'Neil equally resisted the abolition of the old law of the land. Both maintained that the source of nobility was the election by the tribe; that the land of each clan belonged in common to its members, who had, however, the right to dispose of their part, with the general consent; that the customs, or Celtic common law, of gossipred, gavelkind, and coshering, answering to the old English usages of maintenance, fosterage, and gavelkind, were just and wise, and ought to stand; that hereditary Brehons were better judges than royal barons. In short, they contended for all the former law of Ireland, excepting only that part regulating the supreme power. After some warlike demonstrations of the deputies, some castles and skirmishes won and lost, they finally made peace with O'Neil, at Kilmainham, and O'Brien at Dangan, in which they conceded to Ulster and Munster the free exercise of the Brehon law.

On the 17th November, 1558, Mary died at St. James's palace, Westminster; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, died before her, and Cardinal Pole on the following day. King Philip was absent in Spain; the Catholics were left without a head. The Protestants, on the contrary, had kept up a compact organization during this reign. The mercantile jealousy of Spain, the national humiliation of the loss of Calais, and the intrigues of those who had forfeited the possession of power by their conduct in former reigns, sustained that combination. They can only be characterized by the term *party;* for they had all the strength and weakness of party. They procured a vote of the Parliament declaring Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, heiress to the throne. She was crowned in Westminster, according to the Roman ritual, the Bishop of Carlisle officiating. Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, and other prelates, refused to attend.

These six years of Mary's reign were highly useful to the Irish church as a breathing space, as a truce between two battles. It demonstrated the hollowness of that court religion which was put on and off like a garment,

and it enabled the hierarchy to strengthen their defences, and to recruit their broken order. The storm that now arose found it with full and well-ordered ranks, and prelates prepared to meet martyrdom rather than apostasy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IRISH CATHOLIC STRENGTH AT THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH. — TEST OATHS ENACTED. — FIRST CATHOLIC CONFEDERACY. — THE INSURRECTION OF THE DESMONDS. — CONFISCATION OF MUNSTER. — THE FIRST MARTYRS. — THE ULSTER PRINCES. — SECOND CATHOLIC CONFEDERATION. — ALLIANCE WITH SPAIN. — BATTLE OF KINSALE.

When Elizabeth was crowned, there were about sixty great chiefs, or princes, in Ireland, all of whom possessed actual civil and military power. Perhaps forty were Milesians, the remainder Anglo-Normans. Cutting a crescent out of the Leinster side of it, the island was still Celtic. The Brehon laws were still administered in three of the provinces: the chiefs spoke Latin, French, or English, and the people under their banners still cherished their native tongue and native customs. Well organized, this force would be a formidable opposition. The O'Neil could command six thousand foot and one thousand horse; the Earl of Desmond, lord of two hundred and fifty thousand acres of the most fruitful soil of Munster, could count five hundred knights of his own name, each of whom stood for a dozen armed men; the O'Brien and his suffragans could command nearly equal force, and the western and Leinster chiefs as many more. With a population of little more than a million, Ireland had a total of nearly fifty thousand men in arms throughout this long reign, though never in one particular place, nor under one general-in-chief. The result teaches how vainly provincial forces must struggle for liberty if national unity does not inspire and concentrate their efforts.

The acts of supremacy, and uniformity, in the outset of the new reign, showed Catholics what they had to expect. By the one, all clergymen and laymen holding church property or civil office should swear to receive the queen's headship of the church — to deny this thrice was treason; by the other, none but the established liturgy was to be used by clergymen, on pain of perpetual imprisonment, and absence from the established churches on Sunday entailed a fine of one shilling on laymen. The oath of supremacy, by a retrospective enactment, was to be put to all who held public office, had taken a degree abroad, or were engaged in the profession of the laws. Members of the House of Commons were to be tested by it; the peers were exempt. Elizabeth's first Irish deputy, Charles Brandon, Duke of Sussex, called a Dublin Parliament in 1559; but, though the attendance was inconsiderable, its acts were held to be ever after binding.

At this Parliament was passed, among other acts, "an acte for the uniformytie of common prayer and service in the churche and admynystration of the sacraments in the church."

"An acte againste suche persons as shall unreverentlye speake agaynst the sacrament of the bodye and blode of Christe, commonlye called the sacrament of the alter, and for the receivynge thereof under bothe kyndes."

"An acte restoring the crowne the auncient jurisdistion over the state ecclesiasticall and spirituall, and abolyshinge all power repugnant to the same."

"An acte for the conferrynge and consecratynge of archebushopps and bushopps within this realme."

By the same Parliament, the late "pryorye or hospytall of Seynt Jones Jerusalem," in Ireland, was restored to the crown.

In the subsequent session, which began in 1560, an act was passed, of which the most important clauses were —

"Sec. V. *No foreign power* to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this realm.

"Sec. VI. Such jurisdiction annexed to the crown.

"Sec. VII. Ecclesiastical persons and officers, judges,

justices, mayors, temporal officers, and every other person that hath the queen's wages, to take the oath of supremacy.

"Sec. VIII. Penalty for refusing the oath, forfeiture of office, and of promotion during life.

"Sec. XVII. Commissioners to exercise spiritual jurisdiction shall not adjudge any thing heresy, but what is so judged by the canonical Scriptures, or the first four general councils, or any other general council, or by Parliament."

All bishops and archbishops, "in the name of God," were called on to aid in enforcing the same. And, lest the old bishops should fail of their part, even so conjured, a set of queen's bishops were duly inducted. One Sheyn was entitled Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, and commenced his career at Cork by burning the image of St. Dominic; a successor to Dr. Bale was set down in Ossory, and forty principal citizens of Kilkenny gave heavy bonds to attend his ministrations; one Brady was made queen's bishop of Meath, and Adam Loftus, fellow of Cambridge, aged twenty-eight years, whose "comely person and good address pleased the queen," was made Archbishop of Armagh, over which he watched solicitously from the safe distance of Dublin Castle. The "recusant" bishops (this was the English synonyme for the faithful) were obliged to throw themselves on the native princes for protection, and with them in Munster and Ulster, they found safety yet a while. The Earl of Desmond, O'Brien, and O'Neil were the champions of the persecuted churchmen. O'Neil, especially, distinguished himself in the first years of Elizabeth. A troop of horse, under one Randolph, having landed at Derry, stabled their horses in St. Columbcille's church. Roused by this profanation, O'Neil besieged them; Randolph was defeated and slain, and Derry taken. In like manner he drove another sacrilegious garrison from Armagh, leaving the queen no fortress north of Dundalk. In 1564, despairing of his subjugation, the deputy employed Piers, a spy, to assassinate him. Under pretence of peace, the assassin met him at McDonnell's, of Antrim, procured a

quarrel, stabbed him, and brought his head, "pickled, in a pipkin," to Dublin Castle. For this service Piers had "a thousand marks," from the queen.

Thurlogh was the next O'Neil. In 1587, Hugh, grandson to Con, was duly elected, the last and perhaps the ablest of his able family, who bore the title of "Prince of Ulster."

Desmond was guilty of three offences against the queen's majesty — his immense estate, his marriage of a daughter of O'Brien, and his hospitality to Leverus, the "recusant" Bishop of Kildare. To complete his guilt, he refused to take the oaths. The Earl of Ormond and Sir William Drury were, in turn, commanders of a southern army sent to chastise him. By the former the earl was defeated and taken prisoner at Affane, in 1564, sent to London, and imprisoned in the Tower. Exchanged to Dublin ten years afterwards, to use his influence over his brothers then in arms, he effected his escape, during a hunting party, the following year, and, once back amid his people, he prepared for open war. With this view he strengthened himself by marriage with the daughter of McCarthy, (his first wife being dead,) made alliance with other powerful neighbors, and despatched his gallant brother, James, (to whose fraternal care he owed his liberty,) to the pope and the King of Spain. After the election of the English dynasty, this was the first successful effort at an offensive alliance with a foreign power.

In Madrid, James of Desmond was cordially received by King Philip and by the legate, Cardinal Granville. His two sons were placed at the University of Alcala, and himself lodged in the king's house. At this time, the Netherlands were in arms against Spain, Elizabeth privately abetting them. Philip retaliated by alliance with the Desmonds. If he had before conceived the expedition of "the Armada," he now hastened his resolution; and soon after that memorable fleet began to grow beneath the hands of his skilful shipwrights at Cadiz and Seville.

From Madrid, in 1580, James proceeded to Rome, where, on the 13th of May, Gregory XIII. issued his

bull, granting to all who would take up arms under him "the same indulgence granted to those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land," the indulgence to extend "during the lifetime of James and his brother John."* At Rome, under the name of Stukely, was an Irish refugee, supposed to be a chief of the Kavanagh or McMurrogh family. Created by Gregory, Marquis of Ross and Duke of Leinster, he had command of two thousand Romans for an invasion of Ireland. Desmond was to precede him, after a rapid visit to France and Spain; and accordingly we soon find the successful emissary on the coast of Kerry. With such troops as he had, he marched towards Connaught to form a junction with the Burkes, was intercepted, and mortally wounded. Calling to him Dr. Allan, afterwards cardinal, his then chaplain, he confessed his sins, received extreme unction, and expired.

The Romans, under Stukely, had put into the Tagus just as Don Sebastian was departing on his Moorish expedition. Allured probably by some promises of future aid, he accompanied the Portuguese hero to the African shore, and fell on the bloody field of Alcaquivir, in that ferocious *mêlée* where Don Sebastian and his rival, Muley Moloc, both perished.

John, brother of the late James, and of the earl, now took the lead, and continued the war. At Monow, in Limerick, he routed the English, under the Duke of York, so badly, that the Earl of Ormond from England, and Lord Deputy Grey from Dublin, were ordered to Munster with reënforcements. As a set-off, eight hundred Italian and Spanish veterans, under Stephen San Joseph, arrived from Spain, on the coast of Kerry. Hearing of the approach of a powerful army, they fortified themselves in an island called Oillan na Oro, calling their works "Fort Del Oro." The position was a vital one, since by it Spain could command a harbor and landing-place in Ireland for future operations, and San Joseph seems to have made a very resolute defence. The grand

* O'Daly's History of the Geraldines; where several bulls in relation to the Catholic wars of Ireland are given.

inquisitor of Portugal, Q'Daly, a native of the district, and contemporary of the event, thus records the siege of Del Oro: —

"After the viceroy had invested the Golden Fort by "sea and land, and kept up a continual fire on it for "about forty days, the English began to be weary of "their fruitless attempts, and to dread the rigors of the "coming winter. They knew, moreover, that they could "not take up their winter quarters in the open field "against a garrison so well furnished with guns and "provisions. And, having maturely weighed all these "matters, they resolved to seize by fraud that which "their arms could not achieve.

"Having sent the Spaniards a flag of truce, they de- "manded a parley. In the Spanish garrison there was "at that moment an Irish cavalier, named Plunket, who "protested against any overture, and vainly sought to "dissuade San Joseph from visiting the English com- "mander's camp; but he was not listened to, and San "Joseph at once proceeded to the viceroy's quarters, "bringing Plunket with him to act as interpreter. They "were received with the greatest blandness and courtesy "by Grey, who promised the Spanish commandant the "most honorable terms if he would surrender the for- "tress. Now, Plunket interpreted all the viceroy ad- "vanced as the very opposite of what he really said — "namely, that the garrison had no chance of escaping "destruction if they did not throw themselves altogether "on the mercy of the English, and beg terms of him. "Greatly did San Joseph marvel at this insolence, which "denied him and his honorable terms; as he then held a "place which, in the opinion of all, was deemed one "of the strongest in Ireland, and amply provisioned to "hold out many months' siege. Whereon Plunket in- "terpreted that the commander had made up his mind "never to surrender the garrison; and, consequently, that "it was only sacrificing his men if the viceroy sat any "longer before it. But the expression of Plunket's "features, and the fiery indignation of the Spaniard, "caused Grey to suspect that his words had not been

" fairly interpreted; and then Plunket was bound, hand " and foot, and committed to prison, another interpreter " having been procured to supply his place.

" San Joseph, having returned to the fort, reported to " his men that he had obtained the most unexception- " able terms, and that, seeing the defence of the fortress " utterly impracticable, he had resolved to consult the " safety of his soldiers. But even in his chains did " Plunket cry out, 'Treason! treason! Mind you, that " on the holding of the fortress all the hopes of the Catho- " lics depend. The very inclemency of the season must " compel the viceroy to quit the field ere long. The " Geraldines,' continued he, 'are hastening to aid you " with men and supplies. Abandon your position, and " the hopes of the Catholics are forever lost!' Of " Plunket's opinion were Hercules Pisano and the Duke " of Biscay; but the soldiers gave willing ear to their " commander, who, preferring life to glory, forfeited both; " for the place being surrendered in the month of De- " cember, the entire garrison was put to the sword, with " the exception of the Spanish commander, who was " contemptuously driven out of the kingdom. Plunket, " too, was reserved for a more painful death. A short " time after the rendition, he had all his bones broken by " strokes of a hammer, and thus gave up the ghost. " Ever after did 'Grey's faith' become an adage among " the people, whenever they would speak of consum- " mate perfidy. Behold what value these English at- " tached to treaties, oaths, and honor, which amongst " savage nations are esteemed inviolable."

Sir Walter Raleigh, then in his thirty-fifth year, and already favored by his queen, won his first laurels and several thousands of Desmond's acres, by superintending the details of the massacre after the surrender of the fort. This date is November 9, 1587.

In the same year, John of Desmond was surprised and slain near Imokilly, and soon after Elizabeth published an amnesty to all who were in arms, except the brotherless earl and two of his allies. The outlawed Desmond, defeated in his attempts to raise another insurrection,

was assassinated in a forest in Kerry, in the month of December. He was the last of his line who exercised sovereignty over South Munster, from the Blackwater to the Shannon.

The fate of this illustrious family is worth summing up. We have seen the earl and his two brothers die by the sword. A fourth, Thomas, had previously died on his bed. They all had children; but one only apostatized — the earl's son, from his childhood a hostage in London. The sons of James and John being abroad, and the son of the earl a hostage, the son of Thomas was elected chief. Elizabeth, thereupon, released the young earl, who, on entering Kilmallock, his father's town, was received with acclamations, the people showering wheat and salt on him from the housetops, emblematic of the safety and plenty they wished him. The Sunday following, they were surprised to see him turn his steps towards the heretical church from which they strove "to dehort him."* He persisted, however; but on coming out, they hooted and spat upon him. From that day he never was followed or spoken of by name in Desmond.

Thomas, taken captive, after a confinement of seven years in the Tower of London, died in his chains.

The two sons of James, educated at Alcala, perished in the Armada of 1588, upon the Galway coast.

Another James, shipwrecked in Scotland, escaped to Spain. He was created count there, at the instance of the grand inquisitor, O'Daly, a clansman of his ancestors. Charged with the defence of a Spanish town, he refused to surrender it to the French, and was starved to death.† His descendants, so late as the middle of the last century, were historical men in Spain.

So perished this illustrious Catholic family, whose once fertile principality, in contending for the faith, was "reduced to a heap of carcasses and ashes." ‡

---

* Pacata Hibernia, p. 164.

† O'Daly's History of the Geraldines, p. 179, (Meehan's translation.) Duffy, Dublin, 1847.

‡ Pacata Hibernia.

Here we give some of the confiscations in the south of Ireland which followed the insurrection of the Desmonds: —

	Acres.
Co. Waterford, Sir Christopher Hutton,	10,910
Co. Cork and Waterford, Sir W. Raleigh,	12,000
Co. Kerry, Sir Edward Denny,	6,000
Ib. Sir William Harbart,	13,276
Ib. Charles Harbart,	3,768
Ib. John Holly,	4,422
Ib. Capt. Jenkin Conway,	526
Ib. John Champion,	1,434
Cork, Sir Warham St. Leger,	6,000
Ib. Hugh Caff,	6,000
Ib. Sir Thomas Norris,	6,000
Ib. Arthur Robins,	1,800
Ib. Arthur Hide,	5,574
Ib. Francis Butcher and Hugh Wirth,	24,000
Ib. Thomas Say,	3,778
Ib. Arthur Hyde,	11,766
Ib. Edmund Spencer,	3,028
Cork and Waterford, Richard Beacon,	6,000
Limerick, Sir William Courtney,	10,500
Ib. Francis Berkly, Esq.,	7,250
Ib. Robert Anslow,	2,599
Ib. Richard and Alex. Fitton,	3,026
Ib. Edmund Manwaring, Esq.,	3,747
Ib. Waterford and Tipperary, Sir Edward Fitton,	11,515
Ib. Wm. Trenchard, Esq.,	12,000
Ib. George Thornton, Esq.,	1,500
Ib. Sir George Bourcher,	12,880
Ib. Henry Billingsley, Esq.,	11,800
Inverary, Thomas, Earl of Ormond,	3,000
	205,699

Thus a new aristocracy was created in Munster on the ruins of the old — an order in its origin and nature anti-national and anti-Catholic. Other provincial confiscations in the succeeding reigns completed this design, first entertained by Henry, and first regularly undertaken by Elizabeth. The manifold evils which followed then, and which still follow, from such an iniquitous division

of the soil of a populous island, have long since made the very name of Irish landlord synonymous with oppression throughout the world.

While the war against the Desmonds was raging in the south, under pretence of suppressing rebellion, no one could help seeing that in reality it was directed against the Catholic religion. If any had doubted the real object, events which quickly followed Elizabeth's victory soon convinced them. Dermid O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, being taken by the victors, was brought to Dublin in 1582. Here the Protestant Primate Loftus besieged him in vain, for nearly a year, to deny the pope's supremacy, and acknowledge the queen's. Finding him of unshaken faith, he was brought out for martyrdom, on St. Stephen's Green, adjoining the city: there he was tied to a tree, his boots filled with combustibles, and his limbs stripped and smeared with oil and alcohol. Alternately they lighted and quenched the flame which enveloped him, prolonging his tortures through four successive days. Still remaining firm, before dawn of the fifth day, they finally consumed his last remains of life, and left his calcined bones among the ashes at the foot of his stake. The relics, gathered in secret by some pious friends, were hidden away in the half-ruined Church of St. Kevin, near that outlet of Dublin called Kevinsport. In Desmond's town of Kilmallock were taken Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, Father Cornelius, a Franciscan, and some others. To extort from them confessions of the new faith, their thighs were broken with hammers, and their arms crushed by levers. They died without yielding, and the instruments of their torture were buried with them in the Franciscan convent at Askeaton. The Most Reverend Richard Creagh, Primate of all Ireland, was the next victim. Failing to convict him in Ireland of the imputed crime of violating a young woman, who herself exposed the calumny, and suffered for so doing, they brought him to London, where he is said to have died of poison on the 14th of October, 1585. In the same year, the war of extermination was directed towards Ulster.

Two great families, descended from a common ancestor, were pillars of the church in the north. O'Donnell's, the younger, was tributary to O'Neil's, the elder branch. Differences and conflicts more than enough had been between these houses in past times; but about this period, two chiefs arose of a more generous and politic nature, who, for twelve years and upwards acting in concert, saved Ulster and Connaught from the horrors recently inflicted on Munster.

Hugh O'Neil, grandson of Con, now of middle age, was, in his infancy, carried away by the English, and educated at London. He was of "large soul," "profound dissembling heart," and "great military skill," according to Camden, the annalist of his enemies. No man surely had ever such need to remember the Spartan maxim of eking out the lion's with the fox's skin. Reared to be used for his country's division, he hoped to be her liberator; trusted as a tool, yet, while trusted, hated, his first twenty years of public life are full of devices and changes of character, easily accounted for, but not to be justified. From Leicester and Walsingham, Cecil and Bacon, he had learned to justify to his own mind simulation and dissimulation, to wait patiently for the ripening of opportunities, and to trust implicitly no man but himself.

Hugh O'Donnell, surnamed Rud, (Rufus,) was twenty years of age, when, after five years' imprisonment in Dublin Castle, he effected an escape, and made his way undiscovered to his home. From his earliest youth, the greatest expectations were entertained in Ulster of this chief; his valor, comeliness, and chivalry fitting him for popular leadership, as much as the wisdom and science of O'Neil. The one supplied what was defective in the other, and when their several clans chose them as chiefs, and they pledged a life-long fealty to each other in the halls of Dungannon, the hopes of the northern Catholics rose over all obstacles.

While as yet O'Neil was in London court, and O'Donnell in Dublin Castle, King Philip's ships were tossing in the white waves of Biscay. The Armada was partly intended for Ireland, and the spirit that manned it with

so many noble cavaliers was, in part, inspired by Irish preachers and writers at Madrid, Salamanca, Coimbra, and Lisbon. Many of these exiles were companions of the voyage — the young Geraldine, from Alcala; Donnell Kavanagh, (called "Spaniagh," or the Spaniard;) Florence Conroy, Archbishop of Tuam, and many ecclesiastics, secular and regular, sailed in the expedition of 1588, and in the second expedition in 1589. The wreck of this fleet, and the capture of some stray ships knocking about the English Channel, are familiar to all. English patriotism has dwelt for three hundred years on the tale, and repeated it with every possible embellishment. On the west coast of Ireland thirteen great ships and three thousand men were lost, including the vice admiral, Alphonso de Leria, a natural son of King Philip, a nephew of Cardinal Granville, and the Geraldines. The expedition of the following year fared no better, though less lives were lost. Archbishop Conroy escaped back to Spain, where he lived for some years, until, under the viceroyalty of Albert and Isabella, he removed to the Netherlands, and founded the Irish college at Louvain. There he presided, wrote his commentaries on St. Augustine, established an Irish press, from which he issued devotional and catechetical works "For the salvation of the souls of the Gael," and there his ashes remain near the high altar of the chapel dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. He was an active promoter of both expeditions.

The wreck of the Spanish Armadas of '88 and '89 retarded the projects of Hugh O'Neil. He, however, made the best use of certain Spanish officers, who escaped to Dungannon, by opening through them a formal correspondence with King Philip. Cautious and artful as he was bold, he had previously obtained the consent of Elizabeth to maintain six companies of foot, which he kept constantly disbanding and recruiting as fast as they acquired discipline. He also gradually imported military stores, and extended his confederacy, so that by 1593 he had his plans tolerably well matured.

By design, or accident, O'Donnell began the war.

Aided by his suffragans, McGuire, O'Rorke, and the McSweeneys, he drove the English garrisons out of Strabane and Enniskillen. He then carried the war into Connaught, took Sligo, defeated an English army among the Leitrim Mountains, and made tolerably clean work of it with all their garrison towns as far south as Athlone. During this campaign, O'Neil acted, to admiration, the part of mediator; but in the coming spring, he resolved to clear his territory of the garrisons, after O'Donnell's fashion.

From the towers of Dungannon, the broad white flag, with the blazon of the red hand, was spread, amid the acclamations of a great gathering, in the spring of 1594. A detachment simultaneously advanced on the English fort of Portmore, near Coleraine, took and razed it to the corner stone. Advancing through Cavan, O'Neil laid siege to Monaghon, resolving to carry the war towards Dublin. Russell, the new viceroy, determined to negotiate, and sent forward, as queen's commissioners, Sir Henry Wallop and Chief Justice Gardiner. O'Neil treated with them in a plain between both armies, but a temporary truce was the only result. This truce, made to be broken, gave time for Sir John Norreys to arrive from England with a picked body of Flemings and Brabanters, and for O'Donnell, on the other hand, to come up from Connaught. At Clontibret the first regular battle was fought, Norreys defeated, the chief of his "Methian" cavalry, Seagrave, killed by O'Neil's own hand, and the royal standard captured.

The war, thus commenced, lasted for seven years almost without interruption. From the victory of Clontibret to the defeat before Kinsale, "the two Hughs" were the Achilles and Ulysses of the Catholic cause. In 1596, they received Don Alonzo Copis, who brought them some arms and ammunition from Spain; the same year O'Neil retook Armagh; in '97, De Burgh, a new deputy, but an old soldier, marched northward with a great army, and despatched Sir Conyers Clifford to the north-west; O'Donnell routed Clifford with immense loss in Leitrim; another detachment was cut to pieces at

Tyrrell's Pass, by Tyrrell and O'Connor; while at Drumfluich, on the Blackwater, the united Irish forces routed the main army with heavy loss, the Lords De Burgh and Kildare, Sir Francis Vaughn, and other leading officers being among the slain. A fresh store of English standards and arms were forwarded as trophies to Dungannon and Donegal.

The chief Irish victory of the war was that won at the "Yellow Ford," on the little river Avonmore, in Armagh. It was fought the 10th of August, 1598. Marshal Bagenal commanded for the queen, O'Neil for the Catholics. "Two thousand five hundred English were slain, including twenty-three superior officers, besides lieutenants and ensigns. Twelve thousand gold pieces, thirty-four standards, all the musical instruments and cannon, together with a long train of provision wagons," were taken. Fifteen hundred prisoners were disarmed and marched to Dublin; the Catholics buried all the dead, as well foes as friends. They had only two hundred and sixty killed and six hundred wounded.* This was the most glorious day of that heroic effort against the heresy and policy of Elizabeth.

Warmed by these tidings from the north, the whole nation was stirred with emulation. Owen O'Moore, son of Rory, the victim of Bellingham, won back, by the strong arm, two thirds of Leix, as O'Connor did the greater half of Offally; Feach McHugh O'Byrne, of Glendalough, backed by clan Kavanagh, rose at the same time, defeated and slew Sir Dudley Bagenal and Heron, constable of Leighlin; and again, in 1599, routed the Earls of Essex and Southampton, half way between Arklow and Enniscorthy, pursued them forty miles to Dublin, and razed the fort at Cramlin, within two miles of the capital.

Even desolated Munster raised her head once more. A collateral heir of the Desmonds was made earl by O'Neil, to whom he did homage; and except a few

* Mitchel's Life of Hugh O'Neil, p. 144, where the several authorities are quoted.

strong points, Munster was, for the time, restored to the right owners. In Connaught the English power was also much reduced, and Elizabeth spent a sad Christmas in 1598, thinking how she should make one last effort to regain Ireland. In a justifiable cause, the indomitable will of this woman would have been as admirable as that of Isabella of Castile, in her wars against the Moors, a century earlier. Very different was Elizabeth, the Protestant, from Isabella, the Catholic. Isabella was a pious, gentle, affectionate wife and mother; she loved learning, and hated error; but even the errors of paganism she rather strove to cure than to punish. Elizabeth, boastful of her virginity, was of notoriously lax life; she was intolerant of all belief in any other supremacy than her own, while she countenanced most of the immoralities and heresies of the day. Elizabeth and Isabella loved learning, and were indefatigable in enterprise; but in all things else Anne Boleyn was naturally more inferior to Queen Katharine than her daughter was to poor Katharine's celebrated mother.

The winter of 1598 was spent by the English statesmen in considering the next Irish campaign. The queen's favorite, Essex, was to command in chief, with the most experienced aids. Cecil and Bacon prepared his "policie." He wanted for nothing the queen could give. On the 15th of April, 1599, he disembarked 20,000 chosen men at Dublin, where the previous commander, Ormond, met him with a force of 10,000, or 15,000. One historian estimates the entire Catholic forces at 29,352; another sets them down at 20,592. Of these 6000 were with O'Neil in the north, and 4000 with O'Donnell in the west. A Spanish ship, with arms for 2000 men, arrived safely in Donnegal, with news of the death of King Philip, and assurances of cordial aid from the young king, Philip III.

This young king seems to have meant his message. He despatched Don Martin de la Cerda, and Mathew of Oviedo, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, to O'Neil. They bore him an indulgence for all who would fight against England; "a phœnix plume," blessed by Pope Sixtus,

V., and 22,000 golden pieces for his chest. Taking advantage of a six weeks' truce with Essex, and accompanied by the Spanish ambassadors, O'Neil made a pilgrimage from Dungannon, in Tyrone, to Holy Cross, in Tipperary, in which they were joined by all the army, the cavalry mounted, and the footmen armed. Here the Southern chiefs, the remains of the Desmonds, and Florence McCarthy, created by him McCarthy More, met O'Neil, and here it was arranged that the promised Spanish auxiliaries should land in Munster, where they were most needed. From Holy Cross, the Spanish convoys returned home; and, according to agreement, a Spanish fleet, of 6 galleons, 11 armed vessels, about 30 storeships, manned by 1500 sailors, and carrying 6000 troops, sailed the next spring, under the command of Don John d'Aguila, for Munster. After losing a squadron off Corunna, he landed, with 3400 men, at Kinsale, and garrisoned the town.

Essex, having wasted some weeks with protocols, suddenly returned to court, and was disgraced. He was succeeded by a very different deputy, Christopher Blount, Lord Mountjoy. This war had already cost Elizabeth £3,400,000 — an immense sum, as money then rated.* Mountjoy was instructed to succeed — to end the war by any means. He was the ablest enemy the Catholic chiefs had yet to cope with.

The new viceroy marched to the borders of Ulster, and skirmished with O'Neil at the pass of Moira and about Newry. Having then strongly garrisoned Newry, Dundalk, and Carlingford, he suddenly retreated. In fact, this movement was a feint to occupy "the two Hughs," while Sir Henry Docwra, with a vast fleet, entered Lough Foyle, seized and fortified Derry, thus planting a garrison and commanding a harbor in their rear. Having effected this manœuvre, a quasi toleration was permitted the Anglo-Irish Catholics about Dublin, and every effort was made to seduce the members of the

* Hume's History of England. The single campaign of 1599 cost Elizabeth £600,000 — worth then ten times its present value.

Catholic confederacy one by one out of that league. A queen's O'Neil, O'Donnell, and McGuire were set up. O'Connor, in Munster, was induced to believe, by a forged letter, that the new Desmond had betrayed him; and so in his wrath, he delivered Desmond to the common enemy: Feagh McHugh and Donnell Spaniagh were feasted in Dublin Castle, "the dishes being brought in by colonels and captains;" O'More, of Leix, was killed in a skirmish, leaving an infant son, called Rory, or Roger O'Moore; the uxorious McCarthy More was seduced into submission by his English wife, "who refused to come to his bed till he made peace with her majestie."

Intrigue was thus at its work in Leinster and Munster when Don John and his Spaniards reached Kinsale. Mountjoy immediately issued orders for the queen's troops to concentrate in Cork. The design of this viceroy was to reduce the Catholics by famine and pestilence rather than the sword. A few entries from the memoirs of the campaigns of Mountjoy, by himself and his officers, will show how systematically this murderous policy was pursued.

*1600. "Captain Flower was sent into Carbry with "1200 foot and 100 horse, and burned and preyed as far "as Ross!"— *Cox*, 425.

1600. "On the 28th of May, the president entered "Clanwilliam, and John Burk refused to submit person- "ally, pretending that his priests taught him that it was "a mortal sin so to doe. The president, disdaining that "frivolous answer, the next day burned and destroyed his "houses, corn, and country! and then, on the 30th of "May, Burk came and submitted."— *Cox*, 426.

1600. "The president sent Maurice Stack, with 50 "men, to Kerry, where he surprsied Liscaghan Castle, "burned Adare, and preyed the country!"— *Cox*, 429.

"The same day fiftie-eight were executed in the market "place!"— *Pacata Hibernia*, 574.

"The Earle of Clanricard had many faire escapes,

* Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, pp. 74, 75.

"being shot through his garments, and no man did bloody "his sword more than his lordship did that day, and "would not suffer any man to take any of the Irish "prisoners, but bade them kill the rebels!" — *Idem*, 421.

"Whome, though until hir majesties pleasure knowne "he did forbeare, yet the residue he spared not; but after "their deserts, he executed in infinit numbers." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 370.

"The president, therefore, as well to debarre these "straglers from releefe, as to prevent all meanes of suc- "cours to Osulevan, if hee should returne with new forces, "caused all the county of Kerry and Desmond, Beare, "Bantry, and Carbery to be left absolutely wasted." — *Pacata Hibernia*, 680.

"They passed the next morning over the bridge of "Adare, and by the waie, they burned and spoiled the "countrie." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 429.

"On the 1st of May, Captain Taaf took a prey of 300 "cows, and many sheep, and on the second, Captain John "Barry brought in another prey of 500 cows, 300 sheep, "and 300 garrons; and on the 8th, 300 men were, in the "night, sent to Artully to meet Sir Charles Wilmott's "forces, and to conduct them to the camp; which was "effected, to the great grief of the rebels, and a prey of "4000 cows were taken in Iveragh." — *Cox*, 450.

"Upon the 5th of May, hee secretly dispatched a "partie of men, which burnt and spoyled all the countrey, "and returned with foure thousand cowes, besides sheepe "and garrons." — *Pacata Hibernia*, 538.

"The lord justice marched a few miles in Mac Aulies "countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 432.

"On the 31st of October, the English took a prey of "2000 sheep, and 1000 garrons, from O'Sullivan and the "Irish, who fought very smartly for their cattel, so that "many were slain on either side." — *Cox*, 453.

"They tooke also from thence certaine cowes and "sheepe, which were reserved there as in a sure storehouse, "and put the churles to the sword that inhabited therein." —*Pacata Hibernia*, 659.

"Great were the services which these garrisons per-
"formed; for Sir Richard Pierce and Captain George
"Flower, with their troopes, left neither corn, nor horne,
"nor house, unburnt, between Kinsale and Ross. Cap-
"tain Roger Harvie, who had with him his brother, Cap-
"tain Gawen Harvie, Captain Francis Slingsbie, Captain
"William Stafford, and also the companys of the Lord
"Barry and the treasurer, with the president's horse, did
"the like between Ross and Bantry." — *Idem*, 645.

"Some were slain of the lord governor's men, though
"not so many, amongst whom Captain Zouche's trum-
"peter was one; which so grieved the lord general that
"he commanded all the houses, towns, and villages, in
"that country, and about Lefinnen, which in any way
"did belong to the Earl of Desmond, or any of his friends
"and followers, to be burned and spoiled!" — *Hollinshed*, vi. 425.

"Hereupon, Sir Charles, with the English regiments,
"overran all Beare and Bantry, destroying all that they
"could find meet for the relief of men, so as that country
"was wholly wasted!" — *Pacata Hibernia*, 659.

"The next daie following, being the twelfe of March,
"the lord justice and the earle divided their armie into
"two several companies by two ensigns and three togeth-
"er, the lord justice taking the one side, and the other
"taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they
"searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed
"that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the
"same night with all the cattell which they found that
"daie!

"And the said lords, being not satisfied with this
"daie's service, they did likewise the next daie divide
"themselves, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie
"until it was night!" — *Hollinshed*, vi. 430.

"They passed over the same into Conilo, where the
"lord justice and the earl of Ormand divided their
"companies, and as they marched, they burned and de-
"stroyed the country." — *Ibid.*

"He divided his companies into foure parts, and they
"entered into foure severall places of the wood at one

" instant; and by that meanes they scowred the wood " throughout, *in killing as manuie as they tooke*, but the " residue fled into the mountains." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 452.

" There were some of the Irish taken prisoners, that " offered great ransomes; but presently upon their bring- " ing to the campe, *they were hanged.*" — *Pacata Hibernia*, 421.

" Then dividing into three parts marched to Dingle, " and as they went, they drove the whole country before " them, whereby *they took a prey of eight thousand cows*, " *besides garrons, sheep, &c., and slew a great many people*, " and had slain more but that Sir William Winter gave " many of them protections." — *Cox*, 366.

" One hundred and forty of his gallow-glasses had the " misfortune to be intercepted and made prisoners; and as " intelligence was received that the rebels advanced and " prepared to give battle, Skeffington, with a barbarous " precaution, *ordered these wretches to be slaughtered; an* " *order so effectually executed, that but one of all the num-* " *ber escaped the carnage.*" — *Leland*, ii. 181.

" Capteine Macworth recouvered the possession of the " whole, and *did put fiftie to the sword, of which nineteene* " *were found to be Spaniards; and six others he tooke*, " *whereof one was a woman, which were executed in* " *the campe!* None were saved that daie but onlie the " capteine, Julio, whom the lord justice kept for certeine " considerations two or three daies: but in the end he " was hanged, as the rest were before him." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 431.

" Sir Charles Wilmot, with his regiment, was sent " againe into Kerry, (which countrey having therein great " store of corne and cattle, would otherwise haue beene " left open to the rebels' reliefe,) with direction to remoue " all the inhabitants, with their goods and cattle, over the " mountaine into the small county of Limerick, and " such corne as could not be presently reaped and con- " vaied, (as aforesaid,) *hee was commanded to burne and* " *spoyle the same.*" — *Pacata Hibernia*, 582.

" From this he tooke his journie towards Corke, and " in his waie at Drunfening he *tooke a preie of one*

" *thousand five hundred kine or cowes*, which were all " driven and sent unto Corke." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 425.

" When after great trauels *they had maruelouslie wasted* " *and spoiled the countrie*, they appointed to march to " Carigofoile, and to laie siege to the same." — *Hollinshed*, vi. 430.

" They *wasted and forraged the countrey, so as in a* " *small time it was not able to giue the rebels any reliefe!* " *having spoiled and brought into their garrisons the most* " *part of their corne, being newly reaped.*" — *Pacata Hibernia*, 584.

1600. " On the 12th of August, Mountjoy, with 560 " foot, and 60 horse, and some voluntiers, marcht to " Naas, and thence to Philipstown, and in his way took " a prey of 200 cows, 700 garrons, and 500 sheep, and " so *burning the country!*" — *Cox*, 428.

1600. " Sir Arthur Savage, governour of Connagh, " designed to meet the lord lieutenant, but could not " accomplish it, though *he preyed and spoiled the country* " *as far as he came!*" — *Ibid.*

1600. " Mountjoy staid in this country till the 23d of " August, and *destroyed* 10,000*l. worth of corn, and slew* " *more or less of the rebels every day!* One Lenagh, a " notorious rebel, was taken and hanged, and a prey of " 1000 cows, 500 garrons, and many sheep, was taken by " Sir Oliver Lambert, in Daniel Spany's countrey, with " *the slaughter of a great many rebels!*" — *Ibid.*

1601. " Then he wasted Sleugh-Art, a little country in " Tir-Oen, full of woods and bogs, *about fifteen miles* " *long!*" — *Camden*, 638.

1601. " It was not long before he did invade Macduff's " country, and took a prey of 1000 cows, and *burned* " *what he could not carry away!*" — *Cox*, 436.

1601. " The deputy sent out Sir Henry Danvers, with " 300 foot, *to burn about* 20 *houses, which he effected.*" — *Cox*, 439.

D'Aguila, a soldier of the school on which the wealth of Mexico and the defeats in the Netherlands had done enervating work, despatched messengers for aid to O'Donnell and O'Neil. Both had now invaders within their

borders, in Derry, in Portmore, in Lifford, in Donegal, and in Newry, but they raised their several sieges, and marched southward to relieve their ally. Mountjoy was already there with 15,000 men, while Sir Robert Leviston, with ten English ships, blockaded the coast. O'Donnel with 2500, and O'Neil with 4000 men, proposed to combine at Holy Cross, and with the aid of the southern Celts, strike for Spain and the Catholic faith. Early in December, they had formed a junction, and with about 6500 men, came in sight of the enemy. The Spanish flag still flew on the ramparts, and the English flag in the the plain. O'Neil's plan was to besiege the besiegers in their camp, to cut them off from the country, as the town did from the sea, and thus compel their surrender. A skirmish, however, on the night of the 24th, accidentally drew on a general engagement, and Christmas day beheld the triumph of the heretical forces. D'Aguila remained within his walls, not even attempting a sally, and O'Neil's 6000, outnumbered, were forced to retreat. On the last day of the month, Don John, according to treaty, evacuated Kinsale, bringing away to Spain his colors, arms, and money — every thing indeed but his reputation.

The end is a tragedy: O'Donnell went to Spain to make a new alliance and refute the inventions of d'Aguila, but died of fever in the royal palace of Simancas, before his mission had come to any head. He was at the time but thirty years old. O'Sullivan and other brave Munster chiefs followed him, where the young O'Sullivan Beare commanded a ship of war for Philip III., and wrote his Catholic History of Ireland.

The best of the Leinster chiefs, Feagh McHugh, died at an extreme age, after forty years of noble exploits. Donnell Spaniagh took a pension from Mountjoy, and eat his bitter bread beside Dublin Castle.

The heir of O'Moore, an infant in Spain, was nursing against the day of wrath, 1641.

O'Neil was surrounded by foes on every side, who simultaneously advanced upon Dungannon. His biographer tells the sad story of their progress: —

"Chichester marched from Carrickfergus, and crossed "the Bann at Toome: Docwra and his Derry troops "advanced by way of Dungiven; and Mountjoy himself "by Dungannon and Killetrough;* — and wide over the "pleasant fields of Ulster trooped their bands of ill-"omened, red-coated reapers, assiduous in cutting that "saddest of all recorded harvests. Morning after morn-"ing the sun rose bright, and the birds made music, as "they are wont to do of a summer's morning 'on the "fair hills of holy Ireland;' — and forth went the labor-"ers by troops, with their fatal sickles in their hands; "and some cut down the grain, and trampled it into the "earth, and left it rotting there; and some drove away "the cattle, and either slaughtered them in herds, leaving "their carcasses to breed pestilence and death, or drove "them for a spoil to the southward; and some burned "the houses and the corn-stacks, and blotted the sun with "the smoke of their conflagrations; and the summer "song of birds was drowned by the wail of helpless "children and the shrieks of the pitiful women. All this "summer and autumn the havoc was continued, until "from O'Cahan's country, as Mountjoy's secretary de-"scribes it, 'we have none left to give us opposition, "nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely "starved for want of meat.'

"The deputy had taken Magherlowny and Ennis-"laughlin, two principal forts and arsenals of O'Neil's, "and now, about the end of August, he penetrated to "Tullough-oge, the seat of the clan O'Hagan, and broke "in pieces that ancient stone chair in which the princes "of Ulster had been inaugurated for many a century.† "Castle-Roe also soon became untenable; and O'Neil, "retiring slowly, like a hunted beast keeping the dogs at "bay, retreated to the deep woods and thickets of Glan-"con-keane,‡ the name of that valley through which the

* Moryson.

† Stuart, the historian of Armagh, says that some fragments of the O'Neil's stone chair used to be shown upon the glebe of the parish of Desert-creight, county Tyrone.

‡ *Gleann-cin-cein*, the "far head of the glen."

" Moyola winds its way to Lough Neagh, then the most " inaccessible fastness in all Tyr-owen. Here, with six " hundred infantry and about sixty horse, he made his " last stand, and actually defied the armies of England " that whole winter. His western allies were still up in " Connaught, and Bryan McArt O'Neil in Claneboy " — and a favorable reverse of fortune was still possi- " ble; or the Spaniards might still remember him, and " in any event he could ill brook the thought of surren- " dering.

" But the winter's campaign in Connaught was fatal " to the cause in that quarter. In the north, O'Cahan " gave in his submission to Docwra, and Chichester and " Danvers reduced Bryan McArt; so that early in the " spring of 1603, O'Neil found that no chief in all Ireland " kept the field on his part, except O'Ruarc, McGwire, " and the faithful Tyrrell. He had heard too of Rod- " erick O'Donnell's submission, and Red Hugh's death, " and that no more forces were to be hoped from Spain. " Famine also and pestilence, caused by the ravage of " the preceding summer, had made cruel havoc among " his people. A thousand corpses lay unburied between " Toome and Tullogh-oge, three thousand had died of " mere starvation in all Tyr-owen, and 'no spectacle,' " says Moryson, 'was more frequent in the ditches of " towns, and especially of wasted countries, than to see " multitudes of the poor people dead, with their mouths all " colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things " they could rend up above ground.' It was this winter " that Chichester and Sir Richard Moryson, returning " from their expedition against Bryan McArt, 'saw a " horrible spectacle — three children, the eldest not above " ten years old, all eating and gnawing with their teeth " the entrails of their dead mother, on whose flesh they " had fed for twenty days past.' Can the human imagi- " nation conceive such a ghastly sight as this? — Or " picture a winter's morning, in a field near Newry, " and some old women making a fire there, 'and divers " little children, driving out the cattle in the cold morn- " ings, and coming thither to warm them, are by them

"surprised, and killed, and eaten.'* Captain Trevor "'and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry,' wit- "nessed this horror — a vision more grim and ghastly "than any weird sisters that ever brewed hell-broth "upon a blasted heath.

"And at last the haughty chieftain learned the bitter "lesson of adversity; the very materials of resistance "had vanished from the face of the earth, and he "humbled his proud heart, and sent proposals of ac- "commodation to Mountjoy. The deputy received his "instructions from London, and sent Sir William Go- "dolphin and Sir Garret Moore as commissioners to "arrange with him the terms of peace. The negotia- "tion was hurried, on the deputy's part, by private infor- "mation which he had received of the queen's death; "and fearing that O'Neil's views might be altered by "that circumstance, he immediately desired the com- "missioners to close the agreement, and invite O'Neil, "under safe conduct, to Drogheda, to have it ratified "without delay.

"On the 30th day of March (alas the day!) Hugh "O'Neil, now sixty years of age, — worn with care, and "toil, and battle, and in bitter grief for the miseries of "his faithful clansmen, — met the lord deputy in peaceful "guise at Mellifont, and, on his bended knees before "him, tendered his submission; and the favorable con- "ditions that were granted him, even in this, his fallen "estate, show what anxiety the counsellors of Elizabeth "must have felt to disarm the still formidable chief. First "he was to have full 'pardon' for the past; next to be re- "stored in blood, notwithstanding his attainder and "'outlawry,' and to be reinstated in his dignity of Earl of "Tyr-owen; then he and his people were to enjoy full "and free exercise of their religion; and new 'letters "patent' were to issue, regranting to him and other "northern chiefs the whole lands occupied by their "respective clans, save the country held by Henry Oge "O'Neil and Turlough's territory of the Fews. Out of

* Moryson in Mitchel's Life of Hugh O'Neil.

" the land was also reserved a tract of six hundred acres " upon the Blackwater; half to be assigned to Mount- " joy Fort, and half to Charlemont.

" On O'Neil's part the conditions were, that he should " once for all renounce the title of 'The O'Neil,' and " the jurisdiction and state of an Irish chieftain; that " he should now, at length, sink into an earl, wear his " coronet and golden chain like a peaceable nobleman, " and suffer his country to become 'shireground,' and " admit the functionaries of English government. He " was also to write to Spain for his son Henry,* who " was residing in the court of King Philip, and deliver " him as a hostage to the King of England.

" And so the torch and the sword had rest in Ulster " for a time; and the remnant of its inhabitants, to use " the language of Sir John Davies, 'being brayed as it " were in a mortar with the sword, famine, and pesti- " lence together, submitted themselves to the British " government, received the laws and magistrates, and " gladly embraced the king's pardon.' That long, bloody " war had cost England many millions of treasure,† and " the blood of tens of thousands of her veteran soldiers; " and from the face of Ireland it swept nearly one half " of the entire population."

Four years after, James being king, Cecil employed Lord Howth to hatch a plot against O'Neil, and Roderick O'Donnell. They were summoned to Dublin, but, forwarned of their fate, fled to the continent. In 1616, Hugh O'Neil received at Rome the holy viaticum, from Father Luke Wadding, to whom he intrusted his sword, in keeping for the next chief of the Irish nation. He is buried in the church of " San Pietro in Montorio."

---

* " This Henry appears to have been the only son of O'Neil and his first wife; and he had been living for some years in the court of King Philip. O'Neil had four wives in succession — first a daughter of one of the O'Tooles, then Hugh O'Donnell's sister, then Sir Henry Bagnal's sister, and last a lady of the McGennis family, of Down." — *Mitchel.*

† " 'In the year 1599 the queen spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds.' — *Hume.* These were enormous sums at that period."

Roderick O'Donnell died in Spain, where his posterity rose to many honors, and from whence the return of a "Baldearg," who should liberate Ireland, was confidently expected for a hundred years after.

Thus passed away the first generation who resisted the introduction of Protestantism into Ireland. Judged by their enemies or their acts, they were no mean men. They were not deficient in policy, and they surpassed in valor. Rome recognized their championship, and Spain their reputation. Grey, De Burgh, Raleigh, Carew, Mountjoy, Cecil, Bacon, and Elizabeth were no ordinary adversaries. The resources of the enemy were far superior to those of the Catholics, and in the sovereignty of Elizabeth, the former had the incomparable advantage of a higher unity of action.

For a generation, no other Catholic armament was attempted. The reasons for this long and inglorious submission may be gleaned from the despatch which Mountjoy addressed to the privy council at the end of the war. He writes —

"And first, to present unto your lordships the out-
"ward face of the four provinces, and after, to guesse
"(as neere as I can) at their dispositions. Mounster, by
"the good government and industry of the lord pres-
"ident, is cleare of any force in rebellion, except some
"few, not able to make any forcible head; in Leinster
"there is not one declared rebell; in Connaught there is
"none but in O'Rorke's country; in Ulster none but
"Tyrone and Bryan McArt, who was never lord of
"any country, and now doth, with a body of loose men,
"and some creaghts, continue in Glancomkynes, or neere
"the borders thereof. Cohonocht McGwyre, some-
"times Lord of Fermanagh, is banished out of the coun-
"try, who lives with O'Rorke; and at this time, Conor
"Roe McGwyre is possessed of it by the queene, and
"holds it for her. I believe that generally the lords of
"the countries that are reclaimed desire a peace, though
"they will be wavering till their lands and estates are
"assured unto them from her majestie; and as long as
"they see a party in rebellion to subsist, that is of a

" power to ruine them, if they continue subjects or other-
" wise, shall be doubtful of our defence. All that are
" out doe seeke for mercy, excepting O'Rorke, and
" O'Sullivan, who is now with O'Rorke; and these are
" obstinate only out of their diffidence to be safe in any
" forgivenesse. The loose men, and such as are only
" captaines of bonnoghts, as Tirrell and Bryan McArt,
" will nourish the warre as long as they see any possibilitie
" to subsist; and like ill humours, have recourse to any
" part that is unsound. The nobilitie, towns, and English-
" Irish are, for the most part, as weary of the warre as
" any, but unwilling to have it ended, generally for fear
" that upon a peace will ensue a severe reformation of
" religion; and, in particular, many bordering gentlemen
" that were made poore by their own faults, or by rebels'
" incursions, continue their spleene to them, now they
" are become subjects; and having used to help them-
" selves by stealths, did never more use them, nor better
" prevailed in them than now, that these submittees
" have laid aside their owne defence, and betaken them-
" selves to the protection and justice of the state; and
" many of them have tasted so much sweete in entertain-
" ments that they rather desire a warre to continue there
" than a quiet harvest that might arise out of their own
" honest labour; so that I doe find none more pernicious
" instruments of a new warre than some of these. In the
" meane time, Tyrone, while he shall live, will blow
" every sparke of discontent, or new hopes that shall lye
" hid in a corner of the kingdome, and before he shall be
" utterly extinguished make many blazes, and sometimes
" set on fire or consume the next subjects unto him.
" I am persuaded that his combination is already broken,
" and it is apparent that his meanes to subsist in any
" power is overthrowne; but how long hee may live as a
" wood-kerne, and what new accidents may fall out while
" he doth live, I know not. If it be imputed to my
" fault that, notwithstanding her majestie's great forces,
" he doth still live, I beseech your lordships to remember
" how securely the banditoes of Italy doe live, between
" the power of the King of Spaine and the pope. How

" many men of all countreyes of severall times have in
" such sort preserved themselves long from the great
" power of princes, but especially in this countrey, where
" there are so many difficulties to carry an armie, in
" most places so many unaccessible strengths for them
" to flye unto; and then to bee pleased to consider the
" great worke that first I had to breake this maine rebel-
" lion, to defend the kingdom from a dangerous invasion
" of a mightie forraine prince, with so strong a partie in
" the countrey, and now the difficultie to root out scat-
" tered troopes that had so many unaccessible dennes to
" lurke in, which as they are by nature of extreme
" strength and perill to bee attempted, so it is impossible
" for any people, naturally and by art, to make greater
" use of them. And though with infinite dangers wee
" do beat them out of one, yet is there no possibilitie
" for us to follow them with such agilitie as they will flye
" to another; and it is most sure that never traytor knew
" better how to keepe his owne head than this; nor any
" subjects have a more dreadfull awe to lay violent hands
" on their sacred prince than these people have to touch
" the person of their O'Neales; and hee that hath as pesti-
" lent a judgment as ever any had to nourish and to
" spreade his owne infection, hath the ancient swelling
" and desire of libertie in a conquered nation to worke
" upon; their fear to bee rooted out, or to have their old
" faults punished upon all particular discontents, and
" generally over all the kingdom, the feare of a per-
" secution for religion, the debasing of the coyne, (which
" is grievous unto all sortes,) and a dearth and fam-
" ine, which is already begun, and must necessarily
" grow shortly to extremity; the least of which, alone,
" have been many times sufficient motives to drive
" the best and most quiet estates into suddaine con-
" fusion. These will keepe all spirits from settling,
" breed new combinations, and, I feare, even stir the
" townes themselves to solicit foraine aide, with promise
" to cast themselves into their protection; and although
" it bee true that if it had pleased her majestie to have
" longer continued her army in greater strength, I

" should the better have provided for what these cloudes
" doe threaten, and sooner and more easily either have
" made this countrey a rased table, wherein shee might
" have written her owne lawes, or have tyed the ill-disposed
" and rebellious hands till I had surely planted such a
" government as would have overgrowne and killed any
" weeds that should have risen under it; yet since the
" necessitie of the state doeth so urge a diminution of
" this great expense, I will not despayre to goe on with
" this worke, through all these difficulties, if wee bee not
" interrupted by forraine forces, although, perchance,
" wee may be encountered with some new irruptions,
" and (by often adventuring) with some disasters; and it
" may bee your lordships shall sometimes heare of
" some spoyles done upon the subjects, from the which
" it is impossible to preserve them in all places, with far
" greater forces than ever yet were kept in this kingdome;
" and although it hath been seldom heard that an armie
" hath been carried on with so continuall action, and en-
" during without any intermission of winter breathings,
" and that the difficulties at this time to keepe any
" forces in the place where wee must make the warre
" (but especially our horse) are almost beyond any hope
" to prevent, yet with the favour of God and her majes-
" ty's fortune I doe determine myselfe to draw into the
" field as soon as I have received her majesty's com-
" mandments by the commissioners, who it hath pleased
" her to send over; and in the mean time I hope by
" mine owne presence or directions to set every partie
" on worke that doth adjoyne, or may bee drawn against
" any force that doth now remaine in rebellion. In which
" journey the successe must bee in the hands of God:
" but I will confidently promise to omit nothing that is
" possible by us to bee done, to give the last blow unto
" the rebellion."

CHAPTER V.

STUARTS SUCCEED TO THE THRONE.—ENDOWMENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE.—USHER AND O'DANIEL.—CONFISCATION OF ULSTER.—"RECUSANT" PARTY.—CHARLES I.—A NEW PERSECUTION.—STRAFFORD'S VICEROYALTY—CONFISCATION OF CONNAUGHT.—THE SCHOOL OF WARDS.—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

The reigns of James and Charles I. were spent in dividing the spoils acquired by the late wars and confiscations.

Of the spoils gathered on the field of Kinsale, £1800 were set apart for Trinity College library. This institution, founded on the confiscated priory of All-Hallows, ceded for that purpose by the corporation of the city, opened in 1593; it first swallowed Cong Abbey, in Mayo, and Abbey O'Dorney, in the Desmond country. Other grants it had which were come at in the progress of the conquest. Mountjoy, who affected the literary character, and wrote commentaries after the manner of Cæsar, suggested the Kinsale contribution. His second in command, Carew, afterwards Earl of Totness, another author and actor of the same school, eagerly seconded the suggestion.

We cannot wonder to find a university so founded productive mainly of bigotry, and nurturing nationality only through ignorance of its nature. James Usher, nephew of the queen's Bishop of Armagh, was one of its first scholars, and in his department, its greatest name. He became the intellectual leader of Irish Protestantism; in 1615, drew its forty-two articles, which were superseded by the thirty-nine articles of the Westminster Confession in 1634. In his early career, he was distinguished as the author of the theory that the early Irish church was not in communion with Rome. Some bold sentences in St. Columba's epistle to Pope Boniface, the different days celebrated as Easter, and one or two other points, gave this theory a color of truth, which had

no substance. Notwithstanding, it was a useful fallacy, and perhaps the Irish establishment would long since have fallen, but for its supposed revival of earlier dogmas and discipline.

Beside Usher, the prelate who strove most to naturalize Protestanism in Ireland was William Daniel, or O'Daniel, appointed Archbishop of Tuam in 1609. He had been one of the first fellows of Trinity College, and was celebrated for his attainments as a linguist. He translated the English Book of Common Prayer and the Greek Testament into Irish.* "He was also very knowing in the Hebrew." He was not naturally a bigot, though "early prejudice" seems to have made him sometimes a persecutor of the ancient clergy. In 1628, he died at Tuam, and was buried in the cathedral.

Sir James Ware, another early scholar of Trinity, was of the school of Usher and O'Daniel. His favorite study was Irish history; and although he favors the Protestants' theory of the church of St. Patrick, he never descends to the virulence of its modern defenders. When we name these three men, we name all the natives of Ireland, who, in the first century of Protestantism, distinguished themselves in the controversial service of the "reformation."

The death of Elizabeth had inspired the Catholics with sanguine hopes. In the southern towns, the laity rose, expelled the parsons, and restored the priesthood. At Cork, an ecclesiastic, lately from Rome, was publicly *fêted* as the pope's legate. Religious processions filled the streets, and friars resumed the habit of their order. At Waterford, Father Peter White, an eminent Jesuit, preached, with exultation, that Jezabel was dead.

The Catholics had every assurance of sympathy from the agents and partisans of the new dynasty. The Stuarts were no strangers in Ireland. The blood of

* In 1591, Queen Elizabeth provided Irish type for the university, "in the hope that God in his mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue." Copies of Tyndal's Bible were placed in "the midst of the choir" of St. Patrick's Cathedral and Christ Church.

Brian and of McMurrogh flowed in their veins, and antiquaries loved to trace their remoter descent from Fleance, who fled from Macbeth, the usurper, into Ireland. James had himself boasted this pedigree, and declared his ambition to become the pacificator of Ireland. By the act of oblivion, in his first year, he promised protection to all; but the next year by "the commission of grace," he substituted the English for the Celtic law; vassalage for tenant right; primogeniture for tanistry; rents and taxes for "coigne and livery;" tithes for termon lands; capital punishment for the eric and mutilation; patented earls for elective chiefs; itinerant courts for local Brehaives; and the policy of England for the traditions of Ireland.

Worn down by a long unequal war, and abandoned by Spain, the Irish in Ireland submitted, while those abroad kept up the cause, and even procured the consent of Pope Clement VIII., that his nephew should assume the title of "protector of Ireland," which he did accordingly.

James, alarmed by the gunpowder plot and the publications of the Irish exiles in Spain and Rome, and swayed, moreover, by Cecil, his minister, in his third year, openly declared against toleration. His proclamation ran as follows: —

"Whereas we have been informed that our subjects "in the kingdom of Ireland, since the death of our *be-* "*loved sister*, have been deceived by a false rumor, to "wit, that we would allow them liberty of conscience, "contrary to the laws and statutes of that kingdom, and "the religion which we profess. From this some have "deemed us less zealous than we ought to be in the "administration of the Irish church, as well as in that "of the other churches over which it is our duty to "watch; and very many of our Irish subjects seem "determined in persevering in their obstinate contu- "macy. Jesuits, seminarists, priests, and bishops, who "have received ordination at the hands of foreigners, "thus emboldened, have lain concealed in various parts "of that kingdom, and now emerging from their hiding-

" places, exercise their functions and rights, despising us " and our religion.

" Wherefore it hath seemed good to us to notify to " our *beloved* subjects of Ireland, that we shall never " tolerate such a state of things; and notwithstanding " the rumors so industriously circulated, we are firmly " resolved never to allow any religion save that which is " consonant to the word of God, established by our laws. " By these presents, therefore, let all men know that we " strictly order and command all and every of our sub- " jects to frequent the parochial churches, to assist at " the divine offices, and attend to the exposition of the " word of God, on Sundays and festival days, according " to the rule and spirit of the laws. They who will act " contrariwise will incur the penalties provided by the " statutes which we now order to be rigorously enforced.

" And as it has been notified to us that Jesuits, semi- " nary priests, and many other priests, wander about the " kingdom of Ireland, seducing our subjects to the ob- " servance of their superstitious ceremonies, thus bring- " ing our laws into contempt: We now order and com- " mand that all such Jesuits, priests, seminarists, &c., " &c., who have been ordained in foreign parts, or derive " any authority from the Roman see, do, after the " expiration of the last day of November, instant, with- " draw from our kingdom of Ireland; nor let any such " persons after that date venture to return into the afore- " said kingdom. Should they contravene this order, we " strictly ordain, that they are to be punished to the " utmost rigor of the laws in this case already speci- " fied. We, moreover, strictly forbid all our subjects " of Ireland to shelter or countenance any Jesuit, semi- " nary priest, or other priest, who will dare to re- " main in Ireland, or return thither after the 10th day " of December, instant.

" But if any of the aforesaid Jesuits, seminary priests, " or priests of any order, shall dare to remain in the " kingdom of Ireland, or return thither after the 10th " day of December, instant, and if any of our subjects " shall dare to receive or shelter them, we strictly com-

" mand all our mayors, constables, sheriffs, judges, &c.,
" &c., to act as faithful subjects, and to seize the bodies
" or body of each and every Jesuit, seminary priest, and
" other priests who have received their ordination in
" foreign parts, and commit them to close confinement
" until our viceroy or his deputy shall have inflicted on
" them just and deserved punishment.

" But if any of the aforesaid Jesuits, seminary priests,
" or others shall, before the aforesaid 10th day of De-
" cember next, present himself before our viceroy, or any
" other of our officers of state, signifying his desire to
" frequent our churches, according to the spirit of our
" laws, we will give permission to such Jesuits, seminary
" priests, and others, to tarry in our kingdom, and return
" thereto as long as they shall continue faithful to the
" observances which we prescribe. Such persons shall
" have and enjoy all the privileges belonging to our
" faithful and loving subjects."

" Given at Westminster, July 4, 1605."

This proclamation was followed by an oath of abjuration, cast by the king's own hand, in which the pope's power to depose the prince, or grant away any of his territories, or absolve his subjects from allegiance, or authorize them to bear arms, with other current charges upon Catholics, was expressly repudiated. Pope Paul V., then new in the chair of Peter, being consulted as to the oath, issued his brief in 1606, declaring that Catholics "could not, with safety to their consciences or the Catholic faith, take this oath." The authenticity of this paper being questioned by certain pliant, conforming Catholics, the same pontiff the following year confirmed its edict by another. To these papers James put forth an elaborate reply, quoting the fathers and canonists with great confidence as being all on his side. Not content with arguing the matter with Cardinal Bellarmine and Father Suarez, he prepared to establish his opinions by all the forces of the state.

In his deputy, Arthur Chichester, he had a zealous agent of tyranny, the pleasures of whose life were twofold, — hunting down priests and seizing confiscated estates to his own use.

In 1607, through the infamous Baron of Howth, this deputy and Cecil charged the northern Irish chiefs as intriguing with Spain and the pope. Cited to Dublin, O Neil, O'Donnell, (Roderick,) and their nearest of kin fled from Lough Swilly to Normandy, whence they passed on to Rome, never to return. In 1608, Cahir O'Doherty of Innishowen, fearing the same fate, rose in arms, and after a six months' war, died by assassination. On these most insufficient grounds the six counties of Derry, Donegal, Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Cavan were declared confiscated to the crown, and James prepared to plant them with a population, which, in the polity of Providence, became the mortal enemies of his children. James I. brought in the race who drove James II. out. As Kerry, Limerick, Waterford, and Cork had been parcelled out twenty years before to the Kings, Butlers, Boyles, and Raleighs, so the lands of the O'Reillys now went to the Hamiltons, of the McGuires to the Folliots and Gores, of the O'Donnells to the Cunninghams, of the O'Dohertys to Chichester, of the O'Neils to Lindseys, Stewarts, and Brownlows, and the city of Columbcille to the fishmongers of London. Above eight hundred and eighty-five thousand acres of arable land thus changed hands and lords, almost as quickly as in the course of nature the summer stubble is covered with the winter's frost.*

Not content with reducing Ulster to the fate of Munster, Chichester, in James's name, issued, in July, 1610, the following proclamation:—

"Whereas the peace of this kingdom has been im-
"perilled by seminarists and priests, who go beyond
"seas for the purposes of education, and on their return
"inculcate doctrines calculated to imbue the minds of
"the people with superstition and idolatry, we strictly
"prohibit all, save merchants and sailors, from passing

* For the security of his Ulster plantation, James, in 1611, founded the order of baronets, giving to each the ancient blazon of the O'Neils—"a hand sinister, couped at the wrist"—as a distinctive crest. But Derry and Enniskillen proved stronger against his posterity than all the baronets were for them.

" over to other countries, on pain of incurring the royal " indignation and the other penalties decreed against " those who transgress the laws of this realm. Where- " fore we command all noblemen, merchants, and others, " whose children are abroad for educational purposes, to " recall them within one year from date hereof; and, in " case they refuse to return, all parents, friends, &c., " sending them money, directly or indirectly, will be " punished as severely as the law permits."

Ulster and Munster being put out of the contest, and Connaught being rather remote from England for immediate subjection, the Catholics of Leinster were left alone to fight the battle of the church. In 1607, the Baron of Devlin, one of their ablest men, was imprisoned on charge of collusion with O'Neil; in 1608, he was liberated, and from thenceforward his friends wisely preferred parliamentary to armed opposition. The Parliament convened in 1613 gave them an opportunity to test this policy, which they very resolutely did. They set up a candidate of their own for the speakership, and cast ninety-seven votes for him; the castle candidate, Sir John Davies, had one hundred and twenty-seven. The contest became so hot that James — fond arbitrator that he was! — summoned the heads of both parties to England. The "recusants," as the Catholics were called, caught a terrible philippic in Whitehall, and for a session seceded from the packed Parliament.* In the session of

* James, in his speech, accused them of having Peter Lombard ("whom you call a doctor") as their agent at Rome, and Dr. Hollywood in Ireland; of giving their souls to the pope and their bodies to the King of Spain! He wanted to know whether they ever expected to have "the kingdom of Ireland like to the kingdom of heaven!" The great Chief Justice Coke added, at the end of the royal speech, "May God destroy this Irish people, who cause your crown to tremble on your head!" Preston, Plunkett, Talbot, and Gough were the Irish deputies. At this time many of the Irish hierarchy were obliged for personal safety to reside abroad. "But," writes O'Sullivan, "in order that there may be priests in all parts of the kingdom to attend to the cure of souls, a salutary plan has been set on foot; for the better understanding of which we are to recollect that in Ireland there are four archbishoprics and a large number of bishoprics; and that at the present day (A. D. 1621) they are all held by ringleaders of heresy; and that Catho-

1615, they again appeared, voted to legalize the confiscation of Ulster, and, in part, countenanced the withdrawal of military and civil commissions from all officers professing the Roman Catholic religion. To some of these "recusants," part of the spoils of the Celtic chiefs was given, and thus a contention was bred between the Norman and Milesian Catholics, which has not since been entirely eradicated. It would, however, be against the record to assert that the "recusant" party did not do good service to the Catholic cause. They were a protection to all the clergy who remained at home; they held in check bigoted executive and judicial officers, and often at great risk to themselves. In 1622, the policy of enforcing the oath of supremacy was again introduced into Parliament. The "recusants" again refused to take it, and were summoned by the Lord Deputy Falkland to appear before him and the council in the Star Chamber, on the 22d of November. "After the judges had explained to them the nature, reason, and equity of the oath, our bishop (Usher) delivered himself in a grand speech on the occasion; wherein he demonstrated that the king was the supreme and only governor within his dominions, distinguishing between the power of the keys and of the sword, and showing that they by no means clashed together; that the jurisdiction of a Roman pontiff over the universal church was a usurped and unjust jurisdiction, and quite overturned the foundation upon which it was built. Some

---

lic prelates are not appointed to their titles unless in some few instances, for this reason, that without the ecclesiastical dues it seems that such a number of bishops could not support their rank and consequence. For which reason four archbishops, who have been consecrated by the Roman pontiff, appoint priests, or clerks, or persons of the religious orders, for vicars-general in the suffragan bishoprics, with the sanction of the apostolic see. These latter again appoint others for the charge of the parish churches. And Eugene Macmagauran, the Archbishop of Dublin, and David O'Carney, of Cashel, encountering great perils and immense labors, are personally feeding the sheep belonging to their archbishoprics. While Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, and Florence O'Melconry, of Tuam, (who for many reasons is unable to live safe from the English in Ireland,) have intrusted the care of their provinces to vicars."

of those who were called to hear the sentence *præmunire* (transportation) pronounced against them, were convinced by his reasons, and submitted willingly to take the oath."* A printed copy of this discourse was presented to the king, and Usher was soon after presented to the primacy. Whether his logic, or the *præmunire*, convinced those who took the oath the reader may conjecture.

In 1625, Charles I. succeeded his father. The same year he married Harrietta Maria of France, a sincere and practical Catholic. The Catholics, ever hopeful of deliverance, saw in this event new promises of relief and protection; in entertaining which they were again disappointed.

The first Parliament called by Charles, in 1626, reenacted James's abjuration oath of 1605, and even added a supplement draughted by one Berkely, which required them to deny the pope's supremacy "over the Catholic church in general, and myself [the swearer] in particular." Nor was this test theoretical. In 1629, while the Catholics were celebrating mass in Cork Street, Dublin, the Protestant archbishop, with the mayor and a file of musketeers, were sent to disperse them; "which they did, taking away the crucifixes and ornaments of the altar, the soldiers hewing down the image of St. Francis." The priests and friars being captured, the people assailed the pursuivants with stones and clubs, and a reënforcement had to be sent to secure the prisoners. Under the same deputy, (Falkland,) "eight Popish aldermen of Dublin were clapped by the heels for not assisting the mayor;" the revenues of the corporation of Waterford were escheated for "obstinately choosing a succession of 'recusants' for their chief magistrates;"† and a proclamation issued, forbidding, on pain of imprisonment, all friars and priests "to teach, preach, or celebrate their service in any church, chapel, or other public oratory, or place, or to teach any school in any

* Ware's Irish Bishops, vol. i. p. 102.
† Leland's History of Ireland, vol. ii., reign of Charles.

place or places whatsoever within the kingdom."* Fifteen religious houses in Dublin were seized to the king's use, and the college, or seminary, founded in the fourteenth century by Archbishop De Bicknor, was confiscated, and added to the endowments of Trinity College.

The second deputy who ruled Ireland for King Charles confirmed all the fears of the Catholics, especially of such as kept possession of property. Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, not excepting Mountjoy, was the ablest of all Irish viceroys — a man of great foresight, perfect hypocrisy, a sonorous, military eloquence, both in writing and speaking, and an iron resolution. Money being the immediate want of his master, he offered to the Catholics, on his arrival, in 1633, for and in consideration of £150,000, certain "royal graces," or restrictions of the penalties on "recusants." The principal concession was, that the crown should advance no claim to estates not forfeited within the previous sixty years — a proviso which covered all the remaining titles of the "recusants" in Leinster and Connaught. They consented; but he continued to keep the details in debate, while he drew the money in advance; and then, having raised a regular standing army, — an institution at the time unknown in either island, — he proceeded "to inquire into defective titles" in Connaught. Having created sixty new boroughs and got a Parliament to do his bidding, he began in 1634 with Roscommon. The grand jury of that county, refusing to find defective titles, were imprisoned and heavily fined; another was impanelled, and found for the crown. The Galway jury resisted, and was served in like manner; Mayo and Sligo were yielded without a struggle; £40,000, in fines, were wrung from jurors in this campaign, and a great part of the estates of Connaught were seized and sold as crown land. In the seven years of his viceroyalty, this able despot not only contrived to acquire large possessions for himself, to build his "folly" at Naas and "park" in Wicklow, to expend over

* Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 21.

£100,000 of public money in Ireland, but also to make the island the chief source of the king's revenue.

To Wentworth belongs the first systematic attempt at proselytizing Irish children. The schools of "King's Wards," in London, Canterbury, and Dublin, originally designed for the heirs and hostages of suspected chiefs, had become thoroughly Protestant institutions. The Court of Wards, in 1617, decided that all minors claiming property should attend these schools. Lord Orrery complains that frequently these unfortunates were "sold like cattle in the market;" Sir Edward Coke's infamous argument for their perpetual imprisonment in the Tower remains in irrevocable type; the Catholics of Ireland, in their remonstrance, dated Trim, 17th March, 1642, assert that "the heirs of Catholic noblemen and other Catholics were most inhumanly dealt with" by the Court of Wards. Male and female, the king "disposed of them in marriage as he thought fit." Indeed, whenever we find an Irish apostate or renegade during the rest of the century, we may be almost certain that he graduated in "the School of Wards."*

Among his various oppressions, Strafford had trodden hard on several of the Scotch planters at the north. They, as Presbyterians and Scots, appealed to their brethren in England and Scotland; their murmurs were soon lost in the sterner accents of their co-religionists, who, when they drove the viceroy to the scaffold, felt the terrible reality of the power they had so long sought. The Puritans, as this party were called, deserve our special attention.

Beginning under King Edward, this sect was fostered by the example of Hooper, Jewell, and Grindall, among the reformed bishops. They had active principals in Tyndal, Coverdale, Fox, White, and Robert Browne, who all taught that the Bible was not only the revelation of God, but the strict law of civil and religious government; that the king's headship, bishops, holy

* On the School and Court of Wards, see Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i., or Carte's Ormond, vol. i.

orders, saints' days and ceremonies, were an abomination and a hissing, odious to the Lord. Their formal existence dates from the year 1566, and their action, as a political party, from the violence with which, twenty years later, Elizabeth's archbishop, Whitgift, assailed their conventicles. Thenceforth every Parliament was full of their petitions, and every prison had some of their preachers. On arriving in England, in 1603, James invited their chief men to dispute with his bishops, and decided, if they did not conform, to "harrie them out o' the land;" their opinions soon after began to get into the press, and their brother Protestants found it impossible to defeat arguments based upon the radical principles of the reformation. The churchmen became more prelatic, and the Puritans more fanatic; the one contending that the Episcopal order was innately independent of the priesthood, and the others warring on love locks and archery sports, as vehemently as on church music and vestments. The weak King James published his Book of Sports and Orders in Council to encourage Whitsun ales and Morris dances of Sundays; Laud, Charles's Archbishop of Canterbury, strove to make "thorough" riddance of the crop-eared knaves; still the party spread through the rural districts, embracing in its circles not only artisans and country folk, but many distinguished scholars, able commoners, and even some of the peerage.

The two first Stuarts, by pushing obedience into strict conformity, had forced a junction between republicanism and Puritanism. At James's accession, the Puritans were among the most loyal in England; yet that same generation lived to take off his son's head, and to change the whole fabric of the government. Scotch Presbyterianism excited and aided this change, Henderson and Gillespie being the natural allies of Calamy, Selden, and the Vanes. A common policy and a common heresy bound England and Scotland in as close unity as the nature of the two nations allowed.

To both parties Ireland was a hateful name. Nothing good, in their eyes, could come out of that Nazareth.

In Scotland, there were many, who, "foreseeing that Ireland must be the stage to act upon, it being unsettled, and many forfeited lands therein altogether wasted, proceeded to push for fortunes in that kingdom."* The Puritans of England, with their brethren in America, exclaimed, "Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood! yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword drunk with Irish blood!"†

In this spirit the plantation of the northern lands was undertaken by the Scotch; in this spirit war was made by the Puritans. It may be conjectured how the natives were to fare at the hands of both.

Charles's licentious court and excessive taxation gave his enemies texts enough for seditious sermons. From his accession till his forced flight from London to throw himself on the country, he was unhappy in his favorites, his measures, and his temper. The ship money and the property tax, though not the causes, were the fuel of the faction which, in truth, began with the Puritan preachers. The king, as head of the church and patron of the bishops, was from the first their chief target, and their followers were only logical in extending hostility to his temporal, as included in his spiritual supremacy. The Irish Catholic leaders saw clearly into the king's dangers, and when we find them overlooking his duplicity, excusing his dishonor, and going three fourths of the way to patch up broken covenants with him, we should remember that they did not yield so much from servility as because, at bottom, his cause was their own. His deliverance was their hope, as his prostration would inevitably let in the accumulated Puritan deluge upon them and their people.

Events in England hurried rapidly on; the controversy between the king and his Parliament was daily becom-

---

* The Simple Cobbler of Agawam, in America. London reprint, 1647. This work was written by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, pastor of Agawam, near Plymouth, Massachusetts. Ward also drew the first charter of that colony He returned to England, and died there in 1653.

† Montgomery Manuscript, quoted in McNevin's Confiscation of Ulster.

ing more imbittered, and Irish affairs more frequent subjects of debate. In 1642, the king suddenly fled from London, and sent his heir and queen, for safety, to Holland. The Parliament proceeded to raise an army, and to remodel the Reformed Church on Puritan principles. Presbyterianism, recognized as the church of Scotland in 1580, was now declared to be the church of England.

In June, 1643, the Westminster Assembly of Divines met in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The parliamentary ordinance had summoned one hundred and fifty-one persons by name to this convocation — ten lords and twenty commoners, one hundred and twenty-one divines. Scotland was represented by four divines and two laymen; from Ireland, Archbishop Usher and "Joshua Hoyle, D. D.," of Dublin, were invited. Neither of these persons answered the summons. For four years this assembly sat, and besides "the Westminster Confession of Faith," it originated "the solemn league and covenant," which was ratified by the English Parliament in 1643, and the Scotch Parliament in 1644.* This memorable treaty bound its signers to attempt "the reformation and defence of religion, the honor and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland;" "the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland;" to endeavor "to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion;" and "in like manner, without respect of persons, [to] endeavor the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness," "in the three kingdoms."† Further, "to endeavor the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from one another" — that is, all Irish Catholics, lay and clerical, were to be so "discovered" and brought "to condign punishment." "And this covenant we make" — so it

* King Charles II. was constrained, when in custody of the Scottish Covenanters, to sign "the solemn league" at Spey, June 23, 1650, and again to re-sign it at Scone, January 1, 1651.

† Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly, p. 113.

concluded — "in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people." Such was the declaration of war against Catholics, issued by the learned Assembly of Westminster, and confirmed by the two Parliaments of England and Scotland. Under this covenant the united forces of Britain were to march against all who could not call God to witness their adoption of "the solemn league and covenant."

Charles I., as soon as the covenant appeared, issued his condemnation of it; all the reformed prelates, of course, did likewise; but the Presbyterians, Independents, and Brownists, of the Long Parliament, armed in its defence, and their Scottish colleagues did likewise. Then came the civil war; the king a-field, and the rebels in possession of the capital; Strafford beheaded, and Cromwell lieutenant general of the army.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRESBYTERIANS AND PURITANS IN IRELAND. — EXTERMINATION THEIR POLICY. — ULSTER RISING OF 1641. — NEW CATHOLIC CONFEDERACY FOUNDED BY RORY O'MOORE. — OATH OF CONFEDERATION. — GENERAL INSURRECTION. — CATHOLIC LEGISLATION. — PETERS AND JEROME. — OWEN ROE O'NEIL — ORMOND. — CROMWELL IN IRELAND. — THE PURITAN PENAL LAWS. — DEATH OF CROMWELL.

Presbyterianism, in Scotland, dates from 1572 — the era of Knox's Book of Discipline; in Ireland, it may be properly dated from the Montgomery plantation, in Down; that is, from 1606. Montgomery originally obtained his title to a large tract in that county from

O'Neil; James I. confirmed it, with the proviso "that the lands should be planted with British Protestants, and that no grant of fee farm should be made to any person of mere Irish extraction." Accordingly we find for years afterwards a steady importation of Protestant tenants, Shaws, Boyds, Keiths, Maxwells, and Bayleys, all from Scotland. In the vaults of Grey Abbey, and the "stump of an old castle" at Newtown, the pioneers of this emigration had to abide until they erected fitter homesteads; the Montgomery family spent their first year in an old priory, roofed in for their service. In 1609, on the plea of a plot, which was never proved to exist, the six counties of Ulster were declared to be vested in the crown, and by the crown, in a subsequent proclamation, were offered to adventurers "well affected in religion." The rules of the plantation were simply four:—

"I. That the proportion of land to be distributed to "undertakers may be of three different quantities. The "first and least may consist of so many parcels of land "as will make a thousand English acres, or thereabouts; "the second or middle proportion, of so many parcels as "will make fifteen hundred English acres, or thereabouts; "the third, and greatest, of so many parcels as will make "two thousand English acres, or thereabouts.

"II. That all lands escheated in every county may be "divided into four parts, whereof two parts may be di-"vided into proportions consisting of a thousand acres "apiece, a third part into proportions of fifteen hundred "acres, and the fourth part into proportions of two thou-"sand acres.

"III. That every proportion be made a parish, and a "parish church be erected thereon; and the incumbents "be endowed with glebes of several quantities, viz.: An "incumbent of a parish of a thousand acres to have "sixty acres, of a parish of fifteen hundred acres to have "ninety acres, and of a parish of two thousand acres to "have one hundred and twenty acres; and that the "whole tithes, and the duties of every parish, be allotted "to every incumbent, besides the glebes aforesaid.

"IV. That the undertakers of these lands be of sev-"eral sorts — first, English and Scottish, who are to

"plant their proportions with English and Scottish tenants; second, servitors in Ireland, who may take English or Irish tenants at their choice; third, natives of those counties, who are to be freeholders.

"Following these four general principles of division were special directions for each county, based upon their relative statistics. But, before stating these special directions, it will be well to consider those applicable to the whole scheme of the plantation.

"In each county, the authors of this project divided the lands escheated into two divisions, one the portion of the church, and the other the portion of the undertakers. The first was composed of termon, monastery, and mensall or demesne lands; the second, of the escheated territories of the 'late traitors.'" *

The established clergy was thus provided for by the king, while the Presbyterian laity were enriched by the same despotic exercise of power. These latter naturally organized their presbyteries on the Scottish plan, and imported their ministers from Scotland. For some time the connection was intimate and cordial; but after a generation or two, "the church of Scotland" ceased to control "the church of Ulster," and there was not a believer or elder left who considered himself bound by the decrees of the General Assembly of Scotland.

While this new form of Protestantism was expanding in the north, the "recusant" Catholics were again trying the Parliament to secede, a second time, in 1623. This time they did not return; but each one, sullen or active according to his humor, agitated for resistance or remained quietly on his estate. The common people were

* The actual division throughout Ulster may be judged from this sample: "Tyrowen contained of 'available land,' including the ecclesiastical possessions, 1571 ballyboes, or 98,187 acres; Coleraine, otherwise O'Cahan's country, contained 547 ballyboes, or 34,187 acres, of which the Bishop of Derry claimed termon lands to the amount of 6343 acres; Donegal contained 110,700 acres, of which 9000 acres were claimed as termon lands; Fermanagh, commonly called McGwire's country, contained 1070 tathes, or 33,437 acres, with 46 islands; Cavan, O'Reilly's country, contained 620 polls, or 40,500 acres; and Armagh contained 77,800 acres, of which the primate's share was to be 2400 acres, and the incumbents' glebes were to enjoy 4650 acres."

as devoted as ever to their old faith and pastors. A thousand clergymen still remained in the country, secretly or openly, while as many more, from the colleges of France, Spain, and Italy, waited but opportunities to return.

A man was wanting to combine and give heart to the dispersed believers. This man appeared in Roger, or Rory, O'Moore, the heir of a line of brave ancestors; whose father and grandfather had both died in defence of the church and country. Carried into Spain when a child, he returned soon after Charles's accession. Educated in all the science of that age, with the son of Hugh O'Neil as his friend and fellow-student, he grew in patriotism as in years.* His favorite project was to unite the Milesian and Norman Catholics in one holy brotherhood. To this end he gave up his natural right to the lands of Leix, and with his brother Lysagh, made a home at Ballynagh, "near the Boyne." He rode from castle to castle, reasoning and exhorting with men of various minds. So clearly did the people understand his labors, that this was their watchword — "Our trust is in God and our Lady and Rory O'Moore." He was equally successful with the noble in his hall and the farmer in his bawn. Who, indeed, could resist this self-denying man, as he begged the very holders of his own acres to unite with him for their joint preservation? "Keep my lands," said he, "but help me to preserve our altars." He renounced with all solemnity just claims to a restoration of his estates, and urged only unity for the common faith and common defence. Could heroism rise higher above the earth? †

In 1640, O'Moore saw that his patient projects began to operate. Every remonstrance, as he expected, was a failure; the lords of the Pale were rudely repulsed from

* Young O'Neil was found strangled in his bed at Brussels; foul play was suspected on the part of the British agents there.

† Parnell's sketch of O'Moore is the best and briefest I have met: "Roger O'Moore possessed all the qualities of the heroic — character, talents, promptitude, courage, and love of country; his person was remarkably graceful, his aspect dignified, his manners courteous." — *Penal Laws*, p. 113. — O'Moore's daughter Anna was the mother of Patrick Sarsfield.

the castle, and ordered to quit Dublin; an intercepted letter from the Earl of Essex to the deputy, advising their transportation to the West Indies, was printed; and lastly, three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres of their land in Leinster was declared to be confiscated. Driven on by these incentives, Preston, Lord Gormanstown, on the part of the Norman aristocracy, met Roger O'Moore, on the hill of Knoc-Crofty, near Tara, and assured him of their desire for union and coöperation. This was the beginning of the second Catholic confederation. On the 23d October, 1641, impatient, perhaps, of O'Moore's slower policy, Sir Phelim O'Neil appeared in arms in the north.* Appointing four captains, and dividing his forces into four divisions, he assailed simultaneously the chief garrisons of the English. Dungannon, the home of his ancestors, Strabane, Armagh, Portadown, Cavan, and Newry were before three months in his keeping. Except the posts of Derry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus, the English retained no strongholds in Ulster. In December, the Leinster lords equipped a confederate force, and Kilkenny, Wexford, Ross, and Waterford opened their gates to Lord Mountgarrett and his subordinate officers. The last day of the same month, the Irish of Tipperary, under Philip O'Dwyer, took Cashel, and about the same time, Limerick, Clare, and the Catholics of Connaught joined in the general insurrection.

At Lurgan and Portadown, O'Neil certainly showed a revengeful and merciless spirit in refusing quarter. This conduct contrasts strongly with the clemency he exhibited at the capture of Ballaghie, where they allowed the defender, Conway, "to march out with his men, and to carry away trunks, with plate and money, to Antrim." †

* The pretended discovery by Clotworthy's servant, O'Connally, of a general massacre of the Protestants, is admirably analyzed by Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, to whose memory I offer my humble tribute of homage. (For this analysis, see Appendix, p. 371.) Lord Conor McGuire and Colonel Hugh McMahon were arrested in Dublin, on the 23d of October, on that scoundrel's testimony. McMahon was dreadfully racked, but made no confession; Lord McGuire died on the scaffold, at Tyburn, in 1644, declaring his unalterable adhesion to the Catholic faith. McMahon was afterwards one of the supreme council of the Catholic confederacy.

† Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 188.

We must remember that in this interval of a fortnight occurred the terrible massacre, on Island Magee, by the Presbyterian garrison of Carrickfergus. Upon this islet, accessible on the land side at low water, dwelt three thousand souls. On the night, some say of the 1st, some of the 6th of November, the Covenanters surrounded the island on three sides, driving the entire population, with sword and bayonet, towards the clefts of the high, rocky sea-coast. The entire population, "men, women, and children, were cruelly massacred," says Carte; some were killed on the shore, the rest drowned in the tumultuous waves of the North Channel. We hear much of Sicilian Vespers, of St. Bartholomew's day, of Albigensian massacres; but what English book mentions the slaughter of the three thousand Catholics at Island Magee?*

So closed the year 1641, than which no poor year was ever more slandered. The "great Popish massacre" was an invention of the Puritans to inculpate the queen and her friends, to throw discredit on the king's "graces," and to justify their own military preparations. The credulity of that age, in which Oates, Bedlow, and Dangerfield were educated, was easily imposed on. Even grave historians have adopted the inventions of the Puritan broadsheets of 1641 and 1642. The Earl of Warwick sets down the number massacred at two hundred thousand souls; Sir John Temple at three hundred thousand; the historian Rapin, at one hundred and fifty-four thousand; Clarendon, at forty or fifty thousand; Milton at eighty thousand; Hume at forty thousand; Carte at twelve thousand; Dr. Warner at four thousand and twenty-eight, which "in his conscience," he takes to be an exaggeration! Such are the discrepancies of the strictly Protestant historians. Let us consider the true basis of calculation — the then population of Ireland.† In 1641, the total was but one millon four hundred and

* The tradition of Ulster relates that three of the male inhabitants only escaped, and that from them the Catholic McGees of the north of Ireland are all descended. It is a source of pride to the present writer that the blood of that martyr clan flows in his veins.

† Sir William Petty's Survey, in Dublin Society's Library. Dr. Lingard has proved that there is no mention whatever of a Protestant massacre in the state papers of 1641!

forty-six thousand; of which, by Protestant computation, the Protestants were as two in eleven, or two hundred and twenty-five thousand in all the four provinces. Of these fully one half lived in Dublin and other walled towns, which the English never lost, and, at most, but twenty thousand were residents in Ulster. We are told by a contemporary that six thousand, out of the single county of Fermanagh, were saved, notwithstanding that it was the county of Lord McGuire, whose recent seizure must have excited the indignation of his wide-spread clansmen. But why argue upon it? Whoever will examine candidly the evidence of the pretended massacre will find that it has no wide foundation. Instances of individual revenge, of unnecessary bloodshed, no doubt there were; the old proprietors, in some cases, washed out the title deeds of the Puritan farmers in their blood, and some of the inhabitants of Portadown, Monaghan, and other towns, were butchered by the conquerors; but a general or even local "massacre" never occurred. With Warner we assert, "it is easy enough to demonstrate the falsehood of the relation of every Protestant historian of the rebellion,"* and with Edmund Burke, who examined, with Dr. Leland, the entire evidence, we must express our utter astonishment that writers of "pleasant histories" should yet venture to reprint the fifty times refuted lies of the Puritan "broad sheets."†

During the winter of 1641, O'Moore and his coadjutors were not idle. In March, the lords of "the Pale," for the sake of peace, tried one last remonstrance, which took its name from Trim, where it was agreed on. This document recites the grievances of the body, protests their loyalty, and prays for relief. It was received by the king's commissioners, but no answer was returned. At Kells, in the same neighborhood, a provincial synod for Ulster, summoned by the primate, Hugh O'Neil, assembled. With a politic motive this synod suggested a national council, and adjourned to meet it at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May following. On the 8th of April, King Charles, in his speech to Parliament,

* Warner's History of Ireland, reign of Charles I.
† Prior's Life of Burke.

declared that he "would never consent to the toleration of the Popish profession, or the abolition of the laws then in force against Popish recusants." He expressed his determination of crossing the channel personally to head the forces against "the detestable rebels." The Puritan Parliament, however, withheld his supplies for their own reasons, and at the same time induced the Scotch Parliament to send over two thousand five hundred men, under General Monroe, who landed at Carrickfergus, on the 15th of April, one week after the king's speech was delivered.

Under these circumstances, the Irish hierarchy assembled at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May, and proceeded to deliberate on the state of the kingdom. The archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, six bishops and five proxies, were present. As the only remaining estate of the Celtic constitution, as members of an order which in that age possessed throughout Europe legislative powers, and as the actual guides of the body of the people, their right to do so is indisputable. This august council issued a manifesto to the Catholics of Ireland, calling on them to confederate for the common defence. They then ordained the following basis of confederation:—

"I. Whereas the war which now in Ireland the "Catholics do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly "against Puritans, for the defence of the Catholic religion,—for the maintenance of the prerogative and "royal rights of our gracious King Charles,—for our "gracious queen, so unworthily abused by the Puritans, "—for the honor, safety, and health of their royal issue, "—for to avert and repair the injuries done to them,—"for the conversion of the just and lawful safeguard, "liberties, and rights of Ireland,—and, lastly, for the "defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands, and possessions;—whereas this war is undertaken for the foresaid "causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors, and the "enemies of the Catholics, chiefly Puritans, and that "hereof we are informed, as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties, and noble-"men, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement

" of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union,— " we therefore declare that war, openly Catholic, to be " lawful and just; in which war, if some of the Catholics " be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust " title, — covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any " such unlawful private intentions, — we declare them " therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be " punished and restrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, " advised thereof, they do not amend.

" II. Whereas the adversaries do spread divers ru- " mors, do write divers letters, and, under the king's " name, do print proclamations, which are not the king's, " by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue " unto our nation; we therefore, to stop the way of un- " truth, and forgeries of political adversaries, do will and " command that no such rumors, letters, or proclama- " tions may have place or belief until it be known in " a national council, whether they truly proceed from " the king, left to his own freedom, and until agents of " this kingdom, hereafter to be appointed by the *National* " *Council*, have free passage to his majesty, whereby the " kingdom may be certainly informed of his majesty's " intention and will.

" 'III. We straightly command all our inferiors, as " well churchmen as laymen, to make no alienation, " comparison, or difference between provinces, cities, " towns, or families; and lastly, not to begin or forward " any emulations or comparisons whatsoever.

" 'IV. That in every province of Ireland there be a " council made up, both of clergy and nobility, in which " council shall be so many persons, at least, as are coun- " ties in the province, and out of every city or notable " town two persons.

" 'V. Let one general council of the whole kingdom " be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and nota- " ble towns, in which council there shall be three out of " every province, and out of every city one; or where " cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this " council the provincial councils shall have subordi- " nation, and from thence to it may be appealed, until

" this National council shall have opportunity to sit " together.

" ' VI. Let a faithful inventory be made, in every " province, of the murders, burnings, and other cruelties " which are permitted by the Puritan enemies, with a " quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and per- " sons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of " public authority.

" ' VII. We do declare and judge all and every " such as do forsake this union, fight for our enemies, " accompany them in their war, defend or in any way " assist them, to be excommunicated, and by these " presents do excommunicate them.

" ' VIII. We will and declare all those that murder, " dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful " spoilers, robbers of any goods, to be excommunicated, " and so to remain till they completely amend and sat- " isfy, no less than if they were namely proclaimed ex- " communicated.' "

Before admission into this confederacy, the following oath was prescribed to be publicly taken on the holy evangelists, before the altar of a church : —

" ' I, A. B., do profess, swear, and protest before God " and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, " bear true faith and allegiance to my sovereign lord, " Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, " France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful succes- " sors ; and that I will, to my power, during my life, de- " fend, uphold, and maintain, all his and their just pre- " rogatives, estates, and rights, the power and privilege of " the Parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of " Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and " religion throughout this land, and the lives, just liberties, " possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have " taken, or that shall take, this oath, and perform the con- " tents thereof ; and that I will obey and ratify all the " orders and decrees made, and to be made, by the su- " preme Council of the Confederate Catholics of this " kingdom, concerning the said public cause ; and I will " not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protec-

"tion for any act done, or to be done, touching this "general cause, without the consent of the major part of "the said council; and that I will not, directly or indi- "rectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said "cause, but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, "assist, prosecute, and maintain the same.

"'Moreover, I do further swear, that I will not accept "of or submit unto any peace, made, or to be made, "with the said Confederate Catholics, without the con- "sent and approbation of the general assembly of the "said Confederate Catholics, and for the preservation "and strengthening of the association and union of the "kingdom. That upon any peace or accommodation to "be made or concluded with the said Confederate Cath- "olics, as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, "insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions, "until a peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the matters "to be agreed upon in the articles of peace be estab- "lished and secured by Parliament. So help me God, "and his holy gospel.'"

To cover the assembling and sitting of this council, the Leinster confederates, so far as armed, under Mountgarrett and O'Moore, had formed their camp in Kildare, between Dublin and Kilkenny. On the 15th of April, they were attacked and defeated, near the town of Athy, by the English forces under Lord Ormond.* Sir Morgan Cavanagh, one of the leading confederates, was slain, and his head carried to Dublin, where it was impaled. O'Moore fell back on his own district, and Mountgarrett on his, to recruit a stronger force. From this day, Roger O'Moore disappears from the scene, and we hear of him next as dying at Kilkenny, during the ensuing winter.†

Nothing discouraged, the council called a general assembly of the Catholics of the kingdom for the follow-

* This affair is sometimes called the "battle of Kilrush," and sometimes the "battle of Blackhall Heath."

† Carte's Life of Ormond. The statement in McNevin's Confiscation of Ulster, that he retired to the Fews in Armagh, and ended his days in peace, in the bosom of his family, must be an error. Cromwell and Ormond never could tolerate such a man.

ing 23d of October, the anniversary of Sir Phelim O'Neil's rising, and despatched agents to France, Spain, and Rome, to procure experienced officers, arms, and alliance. During the spring and summer, the rising proceeded with great spirit. Limerick was taken by the confederates, under Lord Muskerry and General Barry; Galway was seized on by the young men of the city, who, having captured an English ship, laden with arms, then in port, shut the gates, entered a church, and took the oath of confederation; Liscarroll, one of the strongest places in Munster, was taken, after a siege of thirteen days; only Cork and Youghal, of the southern towns, remained with the English. The garrison of Dublin, reënforced by a thousand horse, under Lord Lisle, had taken Trim, and relieved Birr and some other forts in Kildare and Queen's counties. Lord Leven had reënforced Munroe, in Ulster, and their joint forces amounted to 10,000 men; but they did not move from their garrison. The campaign of 1642 was, on the whole, unfavorable to the Puritan cause, although no national trial of strength had yet taken place.

In the summer of 1642, the distinguished Irish general Owen Roe O'Neil, leaving the Spanish service, in which he had won an enviable reputation by his defence of Arras and other exploits, arrived at Doo Castle, on the Mayo coast, and proceeded to Leitrim. Sir Phelim's insurrection had, by this time, begun to flag, and confidence in his military capacity was much shaken. A graduate of the King's Inns, his purely legal education did not well suit him for military life. Owen gathered the fragments of his cousin's army, and in the fastnesses of Leitrim, "nursed them" into discipline. He fixed his headquarters at Charlemont, and was cheerfully recognized as general-in-chief of the northern confederates. A wiser choice could not have been made. He was every way worthy of the old sword of Hugh O'Neil, which he carried. Young Preston, of Gormanstown, who had served with some distinction in France, and in defence of Louvain, returned at the same time, and was made general-in-chief of the Leinster confederates; Richard

O'Farrell, Oliver Synnott, and other Catholic officers from abroad, also arrived and took service.

Muskerry and Barry commanded in the south, and Lieutenant Colonel Burke and the three Teige O'Kelleys headed the confederates in Connaught. The confederacy might now be considered complete.

Our concern is rather with the policy of this holy war than with the military men or battles. These we leave to the national writers, while we proceed to explain the designs and objects of the dignified assembly, which, at the call of the hierarchy, met at Kilkenny, in October, 1642.

The Puritan lords justices Parsons and Borlase continued to act under sanction of the Long Parliament, against the Catholics; under them, Ormond commanded in Leinster, the Earl of Cork in Munster, Clanrickarde in the west, and Munroe in the north. Their express orders in council were "to spare no Irishman." In England, the civil war had begun, and the parliamentarain party, under Essex, were ordered to besiege the king in Nottingham.

The "general assembly" at Kilkenny was composed of 11 bishops, 14 temporal peers, and 226 duly elected commoners. The extensive mansion of Sir Robert Shea, near the market-place, was their Senate, where, after hearing mass at the cathedral, they gathered for consultation.* Peers, bishops, and commoners sat in one chamber, the dining hall of the mansion. Patrick Darcy, the most eminent Catholic lawyer of the time, acted as chancellor; Nicholas Plunkett was speaker; Cusack, attorney general; and Father Thomas O'Quirke, of the Dominican convent at Tralee, was chaplain. This assembly resolved that their office was "to consult of an order for their own affairs till his majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles." They then spent a week enrolling confederates. After that, a committee to draw up a form of provisional government was chosen, of which Lords

* In 1847, the present writer, in company with Mr. Gavan Duffy and Dr. Cane, of Kilkenny, visited this fine old building, which yet stands.

Gormanstown and Castlehaven, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and Patrick Darcy were members. They reported the following project of law:—

"'Magna Charta and the common and statute laws of "England, in all points not contrary to the Roman "Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of "Ireland, were acknowledged as the basis of the new "government.

"'They resolved that each county should have its "council, consisting of one or two deputies out of each "barony, and where there was no barony, of twelve "persons elected by the county in general, with powers "to adjudicate on all matters cognizable by justices of "the peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debts, and personal actions, and to restore possessions usurped since "the war; to name all the county officers, saving the "high sherriff, who was to be elected by the supreme "council, out of three whom the council of the county "were to recommend. From these there was an appeal "to the provincial councils, which were to consist of "two deputies out of each county, and were to meet "four times a year, or oftener, if there was occasion, to "examine the decisions of the county councils, to decide "all suits like judges of assize, to establish recent possessions, but not to interfere with other suits about "lands except in cases of dower.*

"'From these there lay a further appeal to the supreme "council, of twenty-four persons, who were to be elected "by the general assembly, of which twelve were to be "constantly resident in Kilkenny, or wherever else they "should judge it to be most expedient, with equal voices, "but two thirds to conclude the rest; never fewer than "nine to sit in council, and seven to concur in the same "opinion: out of these twenty-four a president was to "be named by the assembly, and was to be always one "of the twelve resident, and, in case of death or any "other serious impediment, the other residents out of "twenty-four were to select a president.'

* Carte's Ormond.

"It was also enacted, 'That the council should be "vested with power over all generals, military officers, "and civil magistrates, who were to obey their orders, "and send an account duly of their actions and pro-"ceedings; to determine all matters left undecided by "the general assembly. Their acts to be of force till "rescinded by the next assembly; to command and "punish all commanders of forces, magistrates, and all "others of what rank and condition soever; to hear and "judge all capital and criminal causes, (saving titles to "lands,) and to do all kinds of acts for promoting the "common cause of the confederacy and the good of the "kingdom, and relating to the support and management "of the war.*

"And as the administrative authority was to be vested "in the supreme council, it was decreed that, at the end "of every general assembly, the supreme council should "be confirmed or changed, as the general body thought "fit."

They then proceeded to elect their supreme council, consisting of the three archbishops, (Cashel was at the time vacant,) the Bishops of Down and Clonfert, and 23 laymen, half Milesians, half Normans. They adopted as a seal a great cross resting on a flaming heart, and crowned with the wings of a dove, on the left the harp, on the right the crown. The motto was, "*Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hiberni Unanimes.*" The provincial commanders were formally reappointed, and each county assessed for men and money, according to its means. A mint was established, and copper and silver coins were struck. They issued letters of marque, and equipped several light ships under their own flag, which were commanded by Oliver Synnott, Francis Oliver, and others. An official press was established, which worked night and day on pamphlets and proclamations.

The legislation of this assembly was equally judicious. They enacted that all duties on grain and corn coming into Irish ports should be suspended; they abolished

* Cox; Carte's Ormond.

duties on imported iron, arms, and ammunition; they guarantied "the liberties and privileges of free denizens to all ship builders and masters" who would settle in the kingdom. They decreed the restoration of all church property "as fully as held by the Protestant clergy on the 1st of October," but reserved to the laity "their rights by the laws of the land;" they, moreover, fixed a percentage to be paid to the treasury by the restored property during the continuance of the war. Lastly, they appointed and authorized foreign agents, or ambassadors, and so adjourned early in January, to meet again in May.*

The Catholic courts received their agents with cordiality. Father Luke Wadding procured, at Rome, 26,000 dollars, 2000 muskets, the appointment of a nuncio to Ireland, and the Papal benediction for the war. Father Peter Talbot procured, at Madrid, 20,000 dollars, and at Paris, "two great guns, casting balls of 24 pounds' weight." In addition to these gifts, many Spanish and French officers volunteered, some of whom, no doubt, had diplomatic directions from Olivarez and Richelieu.

After the adjournment, the supreme council proceeded on a progress through the south, accompanied by a guard of 500 foot and 200 horse. In Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick, they healed local dissensions, and enrolled confederates. Their progress had all the appearance and effect of a royal visit. In the spring, Preston and Barry felt its good effects in recruits and new munitions.

The European governments had not been insensible to the state of Ireland. In the spring of 1643, M. La Monaire represented France, M. Fuysot Spain, M. Overmere Holland, and Father Scarampi represented Rome, at Kilkenny. Kilkenny was then, *de facto*, a capital.

* Before separating, they promulgated this formal declaration of their independence: "It is hereby declared that no temporal government or jurisdiction shall be assumed, kept, or exercised in this kingdom, or within any county or province thereof, during these troubles, other than is before expressed, except such jurisdiction or government as is, or shall be, approved by the general assembly, or supreme council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland." The shadow of a "Long Parliament," sitting in Dublin, is particularly aimed at in this declaration.

Every thing looked well for the Catholic cause. In the north, O'Neil had taken Charlemont, and, though checked at Clonish, had advanced to victory at Portlester; in the west, Willoughby had surrendered Galway and Oranmore to Burke; in the south, Vavasor had surrendered to Castlehaven; and in Leinster, Preston's troops invested Dublin, where the forces with Ormond and Monk were pining for lack of provisions.

It was at this point that the artful and unscrupulous diplomacy of Ormond rescued the cause of Protestantism from its jeopardy. In Dublin, he placed the justices Borlase and Parsons under arrest, while he was secretly in alliance with Munroe, the Covenanter general, at Carrickfergus. Simultaneous proposals to unite the royal and Catholic forces were presented at Kilkenny. Thus Ormond kept two doors open, and stood between them, "speaking, with a double tongue, contradictory languages."

The Catholics were divided as to a junction with the royal forces; the majority of the supreme council, however, favored it, and nine commissioners were appointed to meet Ormond. In November, a year's truce was concluded at Sigginstown, in Kildare, which was renewed in 1644, for another year, and terminated only in 1645, by the strenuous efforts of the new nuncio, Rinuncini, Archbishop of Fermo.

O'Neil, with a firm minority, had opposed the peace from the first. He and his friends believed that Ireland could stand best unencumbered with any foreign royalty. When it was asked if they would consent to invite over a continental prince, he distinctly declared himself opposed to giving any foreign power "an interest in Ireland." After the first truce, he was accused of interested ulterior motives, and Castlehaven was appointed over his head to the command of the north. Still he did not desert the army, but continued to serve in a subordinate position, though the troops he raised, according to Castlehaven, were "like men half changed." In 1645, he was not only restored to his former rank, but the command in chief of Connaught was added. His forces

were then dignified with the title of the "Catholic army," and he quartered the cross and keys with the red hand of Ulster on his banner.

The royal cause derived from this two years' truce 3000 men, with 2400 pounds of powder, forwarded under Alexander McDonald, Marquis of Antrim, (called "Colkitto," or the left-handed,) to the succor of the Marquis of Montrose; £30,000 in money, paid to the king at Oxford; the possession of Dublin, Kilkenny and other Irish towns for the king, and the consequent strengthening of his cause. When, however, after two years of delusive diplomacy on the one hand, and of generous confidence on the other, the Catholics resolved to terminate a truce by which they lost their means and forces without receiving any return, Ormond renewed his secret negotiations with the Puritans; his son and two others of his adherents went over to the Parliament, and in November, 1646, finding himself hard pressed again in Dublin, by O'Neil and Preston, he surrendered that city and Drogheda to the Puritan fleet, and passed over to Holland, leaving his marchioness, sons, and estates under the protection of his new allies.

General O'Neil, with his Catholic army, met the Covenantors under Munroe, at Benburb. They were ten thousand strong, of whom three thousand two hundred and forty-three were killed upon the spot. All their tents, stores, guns, and fifteen hundred draught horses were captured. Their colors were forwarded to the Papal nuncio, and by him sent to Rome, where a *Te Deum* was sung for the happy issue of that day — June 4, 1646. It was from Benburb that O'Neil advanced by way of Mullingar, (which he retook,) to support Preston, before Dublin.

Another royal treaty was now proposed at Kilkenny, the negotiator being the Earl of Glamorgan, son of the Marquis of Worcester. This proposal came directly from the king, and contained thirty articles; the chief are the first fifteen which follow:—

1. "That the professors of the Roman Catholic reli-
"gion in the kingdom of Ireland, or any of them, be not

" bound or obliged to take the oath of supremacy, " expressed in the second of Queen Elizabeth, com- " monly called the oath of supremacy."

2. " That a Parliament may be held on or before the " last day of November next; and that these articles " agreed on may be transmitted into England, according " to the usual form, and passed, provided that nothing " may be biased to the prejudice of either Protestant or " Catholic party, other than such things as upon this " treaty shall be concluded."

3. " That all acts made by both or either house of " Parliament, to the blemish or prejudice of his majesty's " Roman Catholic subjects, since the 7th of August, " 1641, shall be vacated by acts of Parliament."

4. " That no action of law shall be removed before " the said Parliament, in case it be sooner called than " the last of November; and that all impediments which " may hinder the Roman Catholics to sit in the next " Parliament shall be removed before the Parliament " sit."

5. " That all debts do stand in state, as they were in " the beginning of these troubles."

6. " That the plantations in Connaught, Kilkenny, " Clare, Thomond, Tipperary, Limerick, and Wicklow " may be revoked by act of Parliament, and their estates " secured in the next sessions."

7. " That the natives may erect one or more inns of " court in or near the city of Dublin, they taking an " oath; as also one or more universities, to be governed " as his majesty shall appoint; as also to have schools " for education of youth in the kingdom."

8. " That places of command, of forts, castles, garri- " sons, towns, and other places of importance, and all " places of honor, profit, and trust, shall be conferred with " equal indifferency upon the Catholics, as his majesty's " other subjects, according to their respective merits " and abilities."

9. " That £12,000 sterling be paid the king yearly " for the court of wards."

10. " That no peer may be capable of more proxies

" than two; and that no lords vote in Parliament, " unless, in five years, a lord baron purchase in Ireland " £200 per annum, a viscount £400, and an earl £600, " or lose their votes till they purchase."

11. " That the independency of the Parliament of " Ireland on the kingdom of England shall be decided " by declaration of both houses, agreeable to the laws of " the kingdom of Ireland."

12. " That the council table shall contain itself within " its bounds in handling matters of state, as patent of " plantations, offices, &c., and not meddle with matter " betwixt party and party."

13. " That all acts concerning staple or native com- " modities of this kingdom shall be repealed, except " wooll and woollfels; and that the commissioners, the " Lord Mountgarret, named in the twenty-sixth article, " shall be authorized, under the great seal, to moderate " and ascertain the rates of merchandise to be exported " and imported."

14. " That no governor be longer resident than his " majesty shall find for the good of his people, and that " they make no purchase other than by lease, for the " provision of their houses."

15. " That an act of oblivion may be passed, with- " out extending to any who will not accept of this " peace."

This explicit concession of every Catholic demand would have been quite satisfactory, if the king retained the power to put it into operation. But his was already a doubtful cause. He required ten thousand men from Ireland — a requisition which, when it was known, injured him still further in England. The Scottish loyalists were falling off from him, at Newcastle, while the Parliament were apparently negotiating, but actually preparing to push him to extremities. Yet, withal, an influential party at Kilkenny — though a minority this time — favored the new treaty. The bishops proved themselves the best statesmen, by their decided opposition to it; O'Neil, as usual, acted with them. Neither party yielding, a division ensued, which was never

healed.* The anti-peace party removed their council to Waterford, whence the nuncio issued his excommunication against all foresworn confederates who should accept the peace. From Waterford, the bishops removed to Jamestown, in Roscommon, and finally to Galway. Rinuncini parted with tears from O'Neil, at Maryborough, and returned to Rome, where he had the additional affliction of being coldly received by the new pope.

O'Neil, thus left almost alone, was not unequal to the position. He was somewhat beyond middle age, pious, skilful, eloquent, and brave. Beloved by his men, and entirely confided in by the Council of Bishops, he took, from time to time, such measures as the new state of affairs required. In 1647 and 1648, he occupied positions covering the north-west and the valley of the Shannon, thus protecting the council in its western retreat. His successes won new help from abroad. Pope Innocent and Cardinal Mazarin sent supplies; the new Spanish envoy, De la Torre, advanced £9000, and the Duke of Lorraine £5000. In 1649, we find O'Neil at Tandaragee, with ten thousand foot and twenty-one troops of horse. That summer he had a truce with Monk and Coote, probably to give time for the cultivation of the land; in October, it expired, and Cromwell having arrived at Dublin the previous month, Owen agrees to an alliance with Ormond, some time returned from Holland, and at the head of an army, in Waterford. Lieutenant General O'Farrell, with three thousand men, was despatched to reënforce the marquis in consequence of this coalition.

O'Neil prepared to follow, and forming a junction with Ormond, to give battle to Cromwell. He moved through Monaghan and Tyrone, in great bodily pain, from an issue of blood, probably caused by some old wound. Carried in a litter, he gave his orders, and

* The fable of the "Kilkenny cats," who devoured each other, leaving but the tails behind, is supposed to have originated with some Menenius of those days.

hastened his troops. "A pair of russet leather boots," supposed to be poisoned,* were given him on the way, and are traditionally believed to be the occasion of his death. Standing as a sentinel on the pleasant borders of Meath and Cavan, Lough Oughter Castle received the dying soldier. On the 6th of November, 1649, he breathed his last, leaving the faithful "Catholic army"

"Like sheep without a shepherd when the snow shuts out the sky."

Very few names in any history are more worthy of our honorable and pious remembrance.†

The last effort made to maintain the Catholic contest in this generation was by Bishop French, and the three cities, Clonmel, Limerick, and Galway. Of these we will have to speak farther on.

The nuncio, Rinuncini, somewhat censured at Rome, retired to his palace at Fermo, and adorned its walls with cartoons of the confederate war. Luke Wadding did not live to hear the sorrowful end of his efforts. After declining the well-deserved dignity of cardinal, he died a Friar Minor, in 1657, and was buried near Hugh O'Neil, on St. Peter's Mount.

The Protestant side of this narrative is now in turn.

We have seen the Presbyterians in Ireland in 1610, and the Puritans in 1640. The solemn league and covenant fused and held them together, in all Irish enterprises, whatever differences might arise between them in England or Scotland.

In the beginning they had the king on their side; for nearly twenty years, the English Parliament was their willing instrument. This gave them great power, and their many years' possession of the island gave them every earthly opportunity to implant their species of reformation all over the defeated country. To aid them, the early Irish Protestants, Calvinists in creed,

---

* Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii, p. 83.

† Napoleon, whose chief study was military history, thought that, had O'Neil lived, he would have overmatched Cromwell. *Vide* Voice from St. Helena.

were Episcopalians only in form. Usher's articles were condemned by King James, and finally rejected by "the Irish Church," as savoring too strongly of Calvin There was always a Presbyterian leaven in Dublin, though it was not till the Scotch plantation of the north that there came to be a sect of them, nor till the arrival of General Munroe and his Covenanters, in 1642, that this sect was formidable enough to assume the offensive. Munroe's defeat diminished their numbers and confidence, which only revived with the landing of their English brethren under Comwell.

The Puritanism exhibited in Ireland is English, rather than Scotch, and military rather than immigrant. The Scottish Puritan entered the field with the spade, his English brother entered it with the firelock; the Scot would fight for his fields and faith, the Saxon for Oliver and the spoils of Amalek. The one was in search of a foreign settlement having little to entice him back to his own country; the Saxon was in search of plunder with which he intended to enrich and enlarge his native inheritance.

The history of both sections of the sect illustrates a different mind.

The first Puritan chiefs in Ireland were the defeated Munroe, Sir Charles Coote, (second of the name,) Sir Henry Tichbourne, and Colonel Jones, to whom Ormond had surrendered Dublin. All but the first-named officer formed, in August, 1647, a junction in Meath, for the purpose of driving the Leinster confederate army from the neighborhood of their garrisons of Drogheda and Dublin. At Dungan Hill, the two armies met, and the Puritans won a bloody victory. Preston and Colkitto McDonnell, (the ally of Montrose,) were defeated, and five thousand four hundred and seventy confederates left dead upon the field. Jones, after his victory, returned to Dublin, where he found large supplies from the Long Parliament, and £1000 to be distributed among his men, as a reward for their valorous conduct.

Dublin, at this time, was the theatre of active Puritan

teaching. Stephen Jerome and Hugh Peters, two "preachers of the word," vied with each other in the violence of their invectives against the Catholics. Their favorite precedents were taken from the wars of Joshua; awful were their imprecations on those who did "the work of the Lord negligently." These apostles of extermination accompanied the army, and sailed in the fleet to points of attack, discoursing of Phineas, and Agag, and Gideon; their texts from the New Testament being confined to Antichrist, Armageddon, and the seventh seal. From the pulpit of the castle chapel, Jerome cursed, in the name of the Lord, the time-server who gave quarter to any son of Belial; in the fleet at Galway and Kinsale, Peters exhorted the fanatical Lord Forbes to follow the example of the captors of Jericho and Hai, by "killing all that were there, young men and old, children and maidens."

The exhorters of this school were quite successful in keeping alive the merciless dispositions of the Parliamentarians. Abubeker and Omar did not more thoroughly inspire cruelty into their followers than these Puritan chaplains into their attendants. During the years 1647 and 1648, they beat the iron souls of men, already fanatical enough, to the white heat, which, under Cromwell's eye, wrought such devastations the year following.

The king executed, his surviving friends in exile, Scotland subsidized for the time, there remained but one work for Oliver Cromwell to do, to entitle him to the sovereignty he aimed at; and this work was, the utter subjection of the Irish Catholics. Accordingly, he procured from the Parliament the title of Lord General and Lord Governor of Ireland, and at the head of the veterans of Naseby and Marston Moor, reached Dublin, August 15, 1649. Standing up bareheaded in his carriage, he promised the citizens, as he entered, an early triumph over their enemies. Oliver had sworn to make short work of it: he was now entered on his fiftieth year. The long self-denial and incessant plots of a quarter of a century had at last placed him within two steps of abso-

lute power. One of these steps was the conquest of Ireland, the other the dissolution of the Long Parliament, which had lately constituted itself an oligarchy. To take the last step in time, Ireland should be overpowered quickly. A murderous despatch in the Irish campaign, he knew, would strike terror into the English royalists, and give a revengeful joy to men of the Covenant. For a century Ireland's constancy had been England's abhorrence, while Ireland's valor at home and credit abroad, had of late alarmed England's passion for supremacy.

As Catholics, as royalists, as a rival race, it was safe to slaughter them. Besides, more than two years' absence from England might permit other influences to take root too deeply. It was, consequently, no heat of the hour, no retaliation for Irish excesses, but a deliberately chosen policy in Cromwell, to doom all who opposed his arms or his theology in Ireland to instantaneous death. In his own closet, or in the cabin of his ship, amid the waves of the Channel, this Gothic resolution was formed, not upon the field, nor under the excitement of actual battle.

Cromwell brought from England eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, an unusually large train of artillery, and twenty thousand pounds in money. The Puritan army previously there was more than equal in numbers to the reënforcement. Ireton, Jones, Ludlow, Coote, Waller, and other able officers served under him, and the majority of the Long Parliament were his obedient servants. His plan of campaign was to strike rapidly with his whole force on the walled towns, still possessed by the Catholics. He began with Drogheda, the northern town, most formidable to his party.

Twice repulsed by the garrison under Colonels Wall and Byrne, a breach was at last effected, quarter offered, and the town taken. In his letter to the speaker of the Parliament, Oliver writes, "We refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I do not think thirty of the whole escaped,

and those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes." *

Marching south, Wexford was next invested and cannonaded. By the treachery of a Captain Stafford, one of the flankers of the town wall was yielded at night to the enemy. The brave governor, Colonel David Synnott, proposed terms, and commissioners were actually exchanged, when Cromwell entered by Stafford's connivance, and slew two thousand of the soldiery and people. The women of the town, flying to the market cross, huddled together in hope of mercy; but, like the captors of Hai, the leader of the Puritans spared neither "children nor maidens." Two barges full of fugitives, in attempting to put to sea, sunk in the harbor, and three hundred of those in them were drowned.

"This town," writes Cromwell to Speaker Lenthall, is now so in your power, that of the former inhabitants I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their own houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in the service." Gallant Wexford!

Waterford made a gallant defence, and during Cromwell's time did not surrender. Dungannon Fort, Passage, and Ross were, however, taken, and the Puritans proceeded into Munster.

Clonmel, Limerick, and Galway, warned by the fugitives from Leinster what they had to expect, made memorable resistance. These three cities held out for nearly two years against the entire force which conquered the Cavaliers in a campaign, and overran Scotland in six months.

In the winter of 1649, with an augmented force, Oliver invested Clonmel, defended by Hugh O'Neil, nephew of Owen, and a garrison of one thousand two

* In the same letter he states the Irish garrison at three thousand, so that two thousand nine hundred and seventy must have been put to death at Drogheda. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, edited by Carlyle. London, 1846.

hundred men. Neither the place nor its works was of much strength. Yet every assault on it failed. In April, 1650, the garrison began to starve for food. No practical attempt was made by Lord Ormond, now the royalist general-in-chief, for their relief, and O'Neil, after a six months siege, was obliged to retreat. Even from the fierce and bitter Puritans, the defence of Clonmel, extorted admiration. They declared, "that they found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy this army had ever encountered in Ireland; and that *there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended either in England or Ireland.*" *

O'Neil retreated skilfully, bringing all his men with him, and safely conducting them to Limerick, where the municipality at once chose him governor of that old city, so memorable in this and another similar war. In July, Sir Hardress Waller, at the head of a Puritan division, after attempting it in vain, raised the siege. Early in 1651, Ireton, Cromwell's lieutenant general, (Oliver was in London dissolving the Long Parliament,) renewed the siege. For nine months he pressed the place with cannon, with famine, and with spectacles of horror. Every prisoner who fell into his hands was publicly put to death, in sight of the city. Sedition also was fomented, and a party of the magistrates induced to surrender. O'Neil resisted this proposal with all his might, and found in Terence Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, and Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, heroic coadjutors. In vain the prelate and the soldier exhorted, argued, and denounced the surrender; a majority of the municipal council carried it. The terms, however, were disputed by Ireton. The siege went on, and sedition grew warmer and more virulent. A Captain French, in the interest of the submissionists, yielded St. John's gate to Ireton, and then the brave governor and the bishops, to save, as they hoped, the lives of the people, agreed to terms, which exempted themselves, and fifteen of their friends, from the list of the pardoned. When

* Whitelock's History, p. 411.

the town was once in the hands of the Puritans, O'Neil was tried, and by one vote only his life was saved. General Purcel, Sir Geoffrey Galway, Bishop O'Brien, two friars, and two of the aldermen, on the Eve of All Saints, were hanged and beheaded.* Bishop O'Dwyer escaped in the disguise of a trooper to Brussels, and, like his brave friend O'Neil, who spent a long interval in London Tower, he ended his days in exile.

In August, 1651, the Puritans appeared before that city called — *Galloway, rebellium et Gallorum penultimum refugium* — "Galway, the refuge of rebels and Frenchmen." † General Preston commanded there, and the remnant of the once powerful confederate council, presided over by Nicholas French, still deliberated within its walls. Altered, indeed, was the condition of that synod, but not unworthy of its heroic past was the end. Driven from Kilkenny to Waterford, thence to Clonmel, thence to Limerick, to Loughrea, and to Jamestown, they finally removed to Galway, their "city of refuge." Diminished in numbers, but not in spirit, the empty chairs of their martyred colleagues elevated rather than appalled their courage. Bishop French was the soul and bond of these last mournful sessions. He endeavored to get the Marquis of Clanrickarde, Charles's only recognized representative, after Ormond's emigration, to take the captaincy of the war. Clanrickarde temporized and equivocated. It was then proposed to make peace with Cromwell. The bishop stoutly opposed the suggestion, and advocated the revival of the old oath of confederation, suffered to lapse at the peace of 1648, and the open invitation of foreign aid, "without any regard to King Charles's authority." ‡ Against every opposition he carried this motion, and he himself, with Rochfort, Browne, and Plunkett, leading

* At his execution, Bishop O'Brien solemnly summoned Ireton to follow him to the judgment seat of God. In nine days after, that merciless general died of the plague.

† Inscription of a medal struck by William III.

‡ Clarendon's Civil Wars, p. 186.

commoners, were sent out instructed by the council, "to treat and agree with any Catholic prince, state, republic, or person, as they might deem expedient for the preservation of the Catholic religion and nation," the council promising "to ratify the same." These envoys — this forlorn diplomatic hope — landed at Amsterdam and proceeded to Brussels. The Duke of Lorrain, a descendant of Godfrey, the crusader, entertained their propositions, and sent De Henin, canon of St. Catharine's, with five thousand pounds, and two small ships laden with military stores, to the assembly at Galway. De Henin's instructions were to make a treaty securing the towns yet possessed by the Catholics, with the title of "lord protector," to his master. Clanrickarde refusing to even entertain their terms, time and the alliance were lost forever.

During this negotiation, the siege of Galway went on. In October, 1651, Ireton prepared to march on it, but before he could leave Limerick he died. Ludlow, his successor, allowed Coote to carry on the siege. In the winter it slacked, but in the spring it was renewed. On the 12th of April, 1652, Galway, having made tolerable terms, opened her marble gates to the conquerors. Preston, the general, and the other more active confederates immediately sailed for France.*

---

* In the Life of the Bishop of Killala, (Francis Kirwan,) who was in Galway during the siege, by Bishop Lynch, also of Galway, this interesting passage respecting the event occurs: —

"While the Bishop of Killala was intent on these pious undertakings, the hostile army marched into Connaught, laying the province waste with fire and sword, and on the 8th of July, 1651, laid that siege to Galway which continued to the ninth month. Meantime, the bishop labored with all his energies to drive the besiegers from before the city — and this at a moment when the Catholic troops, either owing to their paucity or non-payment of their arrears, were unwilling to march. He caused a priest to precede him, carrying a cross, and in this fashion passed through his entire diocese, beseeching the people not to hesitate to do battle for their king, altars, and country, and contribute money for the supply of the soldiery; for he hoped, by means of additional subsidies, the Catholics would raise the siege of Galway, and save themselves from impending ruin.

"You might justly style him another Bernard, inspiriting men, by

Nicholas French, the last heroic name of this ten years' crusade, died where he was educated, at Louvain College, in 1678, equally proscribed by Cromwell and by Charles. During his exile he was coadjutor in turn to the Archbishops of St. Jago, in Spain, of Ghent, and of Paris. The cardinal's hat is sculptured on his tomb, in the chapel of St. Anthony; but whether that dignity was ever conferred on him is, to us, not known. His writings are the best contemporary record of the

---

his eloquence, to rally in masses for the prosecution of the holy war, and sustain it with augmented contributions; or another St. Lorchan, gathering forces by money and entreaty, to snatch his Dublin from the enemy's hands. Yet, though the efforts of those three men proved unavailing, to the end that, by long endurance of calamities, crimes might be expiated, and deserts increased, nevertheless they are to be regarded as divinely inspired; for God sometimes inflames men's minds for war, which does not invariably bring about the result desiderated.

"When it came to be known in Europe that the Christians were overwhelmed in Palestine, then did the rabble whet their tongues against St. Bernard, and cast upon him the blame of all the slaughter; for he, by his preaching, caused an infinite multitude of men to enroll themselves among the crusaders. Whilst Bernard was brooking all this ignominy, a certain parent earnestly entreated him to obtain, by his prayers from God, the restoration of sight for his son, who had been stricken blind. At first, the saint positively denied that he had any such power; but, urged by the incessant expostulations of the bystanders, he flung himself upon his knees, and implored God 'that if the word of his preaching had come from Him, or if his Holy Spirit was with him, he would deign to evidence it by restoring vision to the blind one;' thereon the boy saw all objects before him clearly, and the calumniators, converted into admirers by this miracle, renounced their objurgations, and spoke aloud in St. Bernard's praise.

"At length on the 12th of April, 1652, Galway yielded to the besiegers on certain conditions, which were far from being fulfilled; and a few months after, the whole province of Connaught passed into the hands of the enemy, who, now being the dominant party, bestowed the episcopal residence of Killala on Walter Scævola de Burgo, a noble Catholic, ejected from his castle in the month of July. By this transfer, the successful party fancied they made ample reparation to the foresaid nobleman for the losses he had sustained. This Scævola de Burgo not only gave permission to our bishop to conceal himself in his house, but rejoiced exceedingly at the opportunity. The prelate, therefore, hid himself within the limits of a cooped-up sleeping room, which contained two beds, for himself and chaplain. This apartment was feebly lighted by a window, and was large enough to hold a chest. The room was infested by mice, which kept continually running over the heads of the sleepers, and frequently made away with their candle."

Catholic confederation of 1641–1651.* His life is one of the most inspiring in all the annals of his country.

The Puritan legislation was as merciless as the Puritan army. It extends in time from the dispersion of the last Catholic council, in 1651, till the restoration of King Charles, nine years later. After "the peace," the Puritan officers met, in their usual fashion, to consider how the soldiers of the Parliament, and the adventurers of money to carry on the war, were to be indemnified. "Lord Broghill proposed," at this council, "that the whole kingdom might be surveyed, and the number of acres taken, with the quality of them; and then all the soldiers to bring in their arrears, and so to give every man, by lot, as many acres of ground as might answer the value of his arrears. This was agreed on; and all Ireland being surveyed, and the value of acres given in, the highest was valued at *only four shillings the acre, and some only at a penny.* Accordingly they took the names of all that were in arrear, who drew lots in which part of the kingdom their portion should be; and in this manner *the whole kingdom* was divided among the conquerors and adventurers of money." † Finding this scheme impracticable, an alternative was opened to the Catholic population. A large part of the province of Connaught and county of Clare had become depopulated during the war, and to Connaught, or Barbadoes, was the alternative offered to the vanquished. Twenty thousand were transported beyond seas to the West India colonies and the tobacco plantations; "thousands, principally females, to the colonies in America." Hundreds of thousands more were crowded over the Shannon. A tribunal "to ascertain and settle claims to lands and houses in Ireland," in the years 1655, 6, and 7, was daily employed in parcelling out the island, while the most horrid restrictions were imposed on the remnant of the dispossessed natives. If a Catholic moved out of his district without a license, he was to be shot; to keep a musket,

* Dublin, reprinted by James Duffy, 1847, (two volumes.)
† Orrery's (Broghill's) Memoirs, vol. i. p. 39.

sword, or any other weapon, was punishable with death; no Catholic could reside in certain chief towns, nor within three miles of their walls; to receive or harbor a priest was present death."* Most rigorously was this barbarous code executed, in every detail. The population sunk below what it had been even after the Danish wars, and the spirit of the nation decayed quicker than the numbers. The ruin of the Catholic gentry was absolute, and by all human calculations the Catholic religion was at the very point of expiration. Upon the dewy pastures of Erin Puritan cattle fatten, while in the swamps of Barbadoes the Irish cry goes up to Heaven. But all do not live to reach Barbadoes. Thousands perished at sea.

Emir McMahon, Bishop of Clogher, was beheaded and embowelled at Enniskillen; Arthur Maginnis, Bishop of Down, died at sea, flying into exile; the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishop of Leighlin, were fugitives in Spain; the Bishops of Limerick, Raphoe, and Ferns, in the Netherlands; the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Cork, Cloyne, Ross, Waterford, Killalo, and Kilfenora, in different parts of France. The Bishop of Kilmacduah was concealed among his friends in England. Of the twenty-six Irish prelates, only three were suffered in Ireland, the Primate O'Reilly, McGeoghegan, Bishop of Meath, and the bedrid Bishop of Kilmore. Of the bishops, who, in the victorious days of the confederation, filled their sees, administering orders and governing the churches, twelve died in exile, and four suffered martyrdom. The sufferings of those who lay in concealment year after year were almost beyond the endurance of fortitude even such as theirs. The adventures of one — the Bishop of Killalo — is illustrative of those of all his contemporaries. His biographer says:

"He then proceeded, by short marches, to Galway, "and finally entered the city about eventide, in disguise. "Here he remained safe for a long time, protected by his "friends; but a rumor was soon spread that he was con-

* Clarendon's Life, vol. ii. p. 116. Laws of the Protectorate, A. D. 1655 and 6. Mr. Carlyle, with his usual fanaticism, attempts to justify this wholesale plunder. — *Life and Letters of Cromwell*, vol. i.

" cealed in the city; whereon the soldiers of the garrison " expended and squandered much time searching for " him. They had been certified by informers of the " houses which the bishop was wont to frequent, and then " searched their inmost recesses; but as the search was " instituted, generally speaking, about three days after " the bishop had retired thence, they did not arrest him. " So keen, however, was their pursuit of him, that he was " obliged to take refuge in the topmost stories of the " houses, aneath the tiles, and this, too, at midwinter " without a spark of fire. Sometimes he was forced to " go out on the roof, and, whilst his pursuers were gaining " on him, to descend into a neighboring house by the " dormant window. For, as most of the houses in Gal- " way are connected, a person can safely walk on the " roofs, and thus pass from one house to another; and, " as the interior walls support the roof, parapets rise on " the outside, under cover of which it is easy to find " shelter.

" At length, after the bishop had eluded the various " snares set for him, he was joyously received by a cer- " tain friend who was not very rich. Little did this man " care for the loss of his property, which was inconsidera- " ble, but greatly was he concerned for the safety of his " prelate. Here, in midwinter, on the floor, right under " the roof, without a fire, was he obliged to lurk as long " as his health permitted him, nor did he descend to the " lower chamber till nighttime, when he required sleep. " Owing to this irksome, sedentary habit and unhealthy " position, together with all his former sufferings, he was " seized with a most grievous malady, and compelled to " betake him to his bed, nor could he much longer escape " the soldiers, who licentiously visited every house; where- " fore, to protect him from their ruffian assaults, he was " advised by some friends to surrender himself to the " governor, who, seeing that the virulence of his disease " was killing him, forbade the soldiers to give him any " trouble, as soon as some of the richer citizens had en- " tered into security for his appearance in the governor's " court, provided he survived."

At home the priesthood fared full worse. In 1652, the Puritan commissioner proclaimed the 27th of Elizabeth to be "the law of the commonwealth," as to priests and Jesuits. Twenty-eight days only were given all such persons to depart the kingdom. A great number emigrated, but about an equal number remained. A thousand victims dared to remain to be captured and executed, and the cruel perseverance with which they were hunted down resembles more the revengeful horrors of romance than the truths of history. "Some of them were burned before a slow fire; some were put on the rack, and tortured to death; whilst others, like Ambrose Cahill and James O'Reilly, were not only slain with the greatest cruelty, but their inanimate bodies were torn into fragments, and scattered before the wind."* The Dominican order counts thirty Irish martyrs within its decade; the Augustinians an equal number; the Franciscans still more; the losses of the Jesuits must have been great. Of the destruction of the secular clergy there is no record, but of near a thousand who remained in Ireland after the proclamation of 1652, it is certain not one half outlived Oliver Cromwell.

Fearful as was the persecution of the clergy, nobles, and peasants, the afflictions of those who lived in garrisoned districts were scarce less. Upon these the soldiery were billeted at free quarters, and from them their pay was collected weekly.

"Along with the three scourges of God," says an eye-witness, — "famine, plague, and war, there was "another, which some called the fourth scourge, to wit, "the weekly exaction of the soldiers' pay, which was "extorted, with incredible atrocity, each Saturday, — "bugles sounding and drums beating. On these occa- "sions the soldiers entered the various houses, and "pointing their muskets to the breasts of men and "women, threatened them with instant death if the "sum demanded was not immediately given. Should it

* Croly's Life of Archbishop Plunket, Dublin, 1850, O'Daly's Geraldine, Dr. French's Tracts, and Peter Walsh's History of the Remonstrance, are the best contemporary authorities.

"have so happened, that the continual payment of "these pensions had exhausted the means of the people, "bed, bedding, sheets, table cloths, dishes, and every "description of furniture, nay, the very garments of the "women, torn off their persons, were carried to the "market-place and sold for a small sum; so much so, "that each recurring Saturday bore a resemblance to "the day of judgment, and the clangor of the trumpet "smote the people with terror almost equal to that of "doomsday."*

Domiciliary visits were made at all hours of the night and day, and the godly soldiers of the Covenant, like other rigid theorists, showed, by the licentiousness of their lives, how very far an affected austerity is from real piety and purity.

Moreover, the "navigation act," passed by the Protector ostensibly against the Dutch, struck still more severely at the Irish seaports. From them, nominally under the same government, all direct trade with the colonies was cut off. By securing the monopoly of the "carrying trade" to "British bottoms," Ireland was ordered off the ocean as a trespasser; nor has she ever yet recovered what she lost during the long continuance of that most partial and unjust statute.† This and other laws of the commonwealth were enacted in London, the two kingdoms being placed by the Protector under one general legislature.

Oliver died in September, 1658, to the great delight of the Catholics. Immediately a presentiment of King Charles's return filled the minds of men. Though Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector, at London and Dublin, no one expected him to hold power. Imitating the adroit policy of General Monk, Broghill Coote, Inchiquin, and other Irish Puritans, besieged Athlone, Limerick, Clonmel, and Waterford, and de-

* Lynch's Life of Bishop Kirwan.

† Cromwell's navigation act, the basis of the maritime code of England, was re-enacted by Charles II.'s first Parliament; repealed by the Irish Parliament in 1779, after operating above a century. It has been finally abolished in England, in 1849.

clared for the king. At the restoration, next year, Broghill was made Earl of Orrery, Coote Earl of Mountrath, and the rest confirmed in their parliamentarian grants. Though the greater part of their spoils were also secured to them, the Dublin Puritans, in common with their English brethren, never relished the restoration. In 1665, under Colonel Blood, they attempted to seize the Castle of Dublin but the plot failed.

Twenty years later we find them active against James, and devoted to William. A leaven of the old spirit of Hugh Peters and Stephen Jerome has always lingered in the Irish capital, but its activity has been only an irritant to the more powerful and better disposed classes of that population. Presbyterian Derry submitted to the restoration with similar insincerity.

The Puritan and Presbyterian powers had Ireland, as we have seen, at their mercy for a dozen years. They succeeded in destroying many, in converting none. They fought bravely, giving no quarter to "the uncircumcised." They rooted out the Irish gentry, and exiled or martyred the clergy. They had imported into Ireland the seeds of every kindred sect, but not one of them took root.* They had violated shrines, defaced tombs, defiled altars, and beheaded priests; but they had not made twenty Puritans in all broad Ireland! It is recorded with wonderment in the records of Galway that in that populous city they had a solitary convert, one Lynch Fitz-Thomas, who, it is added, died of remorse and a broken heart. They were less successful even than Browne and St. Leger, than Strafford and Usher. These first reformers could fill a pew, at a pinch, but as for the poor Puritans, all their Irish converts might have been stowed into Hugh Peters's pulpit.

Of the chief of the ferocious sect, Oliver Cromwell, we need say but little. The perverse spirit of a litera-

---

* "Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and Dissenters of every description" formed "this new colony."—*Speech of Lord Chancellor Clare, on the Irish Union*, 1800.

ture whose boast is to glorify success and worship mere strength, has striven to exalt him into a hero. It entirely depends on the standard, whether or not you find him to be a hero. If candor, bravery, gentleness, justice, generosity, and unostentatious devotion be heroic attributes, Oliver was none. If craft, courage, hypocrisy, and slaughter make a hero, he was self-made.

Irish tradition has kept his memory in a proverb which makes his name synonymous with hunger and rapine. History, informed by the spirit of our holy religion, condemns him as one of the most wicked and detestable of the fallen children of Adam.

BOOK II.

A. D. 1660 TO 1727.

FROM THE

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

UNTIL THE

DEATH OF GEORGE I.

CHAPTER I.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. — ACT OF SETTLEMENT. — ORMOND'S ATTEMPT TO GALLICANIZE THE IRISH CHURCH. — SYNOD OF 1666. — LORD BERKELEY'S VICEROYALTY. — THE NEW TEST ACT. — "THE POPISH PLOT." — MARTYRDOM OF PRIMATE PLUNKETT. — ASSASSINATION OF COUNT REDMOND O'HANLON.

After ten years of exile, Charles II. was restored to the throne of England, in the spring of 1660. His ministers were chosen from among the companions of his banishment — the principal being Lord Clarendon, for chancellor, and the Marquis, now Duke of Ormond, for lord lieutenant of Ireland. Ormond brought with him to Dublin a lively recollection of the opposition given to his designs, twenty years before, by the bishops, and powers of intrigue which the shifts of exile had practised to perfection.

The king, in his declaration, signed and sealed at Breda, the year before his restoration, had pledged himself against persecution. "We do declare," he said, "a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence." The year of his restoration, in his speech to the new Parliament, he had also said, "I hope I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the full benefit of my mercy; they have showed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honor and of what I have promised them." Such was Charles's personal relation to the Irish Catholics.

Respect for the king's pledges, as well as his natural turn of mind, led Ormond again to temporize with the Irish

bishops. In this case, he employed Father Peter Walsh, a native of Kildare, and graduate of Louvain, a Franciscan by profession, but a Gallican and a tuft-hunter. Early in 1661, Father Walsh procured, from the Irish prelates on the continent, a power of attorney to act as their "procurator," within certain limits. "You must humble yourselves more," wrote Walsh to his principals; "I dare not show your letters to the duke." Bishop French, "seeing he could not satisfy God and his grace together," refused a more complete submission, and Walsh, having drawn up "a remonstrance," or protestation of Catholic loyalty, could obtain only the signature of the bedrid Bishop of Kilmore, about seven of the Catholic gentry, a few of the priesthood, and the townsmen of Wexford. With these names it was presented to King Charles, "who reserved a clean copy of it for his own use." The same year the statute of uniformity was reënacted at Westminster.

The Catholic gentry fared almost as ill as the exiled prelacy. The Irish Puritan proprietors kept as their agents at court Sir James Shean and Sir John Clotworthy, at whose disposal they placed between twenty and thirty thousand pounds, to "dispose of it properly," in "making presents." Shean assures his chief employer, Orrery, that he made a good use of it, being so "wary as to pay the money by other hands" than his own. In Ormond and Clarendon these agents had powerful friends, and by them the act of settlement was obtained, by which all who had not gone over to Ormond in the confederate war, or who had "resided in the enemies'" quarters, were declared disentitled to their estates. In vain eight thousand old proprietors appealed to the king's mercy and to his honor. Out of that number less than a thousand were heard, and about a score were successful. In Ulster Lord Antrim and Sir Henry O'Neil, in Connaught Lord Clanrickarde, Lord Mayo, Colonel O'Kelly, and Colonel Moore only were restored. The act of explanation, formally indorsing the new arrangement of Irish titles, was passed in 1665, and received the king's sanction. For their services in procuring its enactment, Clarendon had eight thousand

pounds, Sir Heneage Finch, the king's solicitor, six thousand pounds, and Ormond over sixty thousand pounds, besides the fee simple of Kilkenny city, procured for him by the Puritan lords. The Cromwellians by this act had seven million eight hundred thousand Irish acres confirmed to them. The situation of the old Irish proprietors, hangers-on at the court of Charles, was miserable in the extreme. In vain Lord Castlemaine (or whoever wrote, in 1666, the memorial called "Castlemaine's Apology for the Catholics") represented their case in most moving terms. "Consider, we beseech you," he said, "the sad condition of the Irish soldiers now in England; the worst of which nation could be but intentionally so wicked, as the acted villany of many English, whom your admired clemency pardoned. Remember how they left the Spanish service when they heard their king was in France, and how they forsook the employment of that unnatural prince, after he had committed the never-to-be-forgotten act of banishing his distressed kinsman out of his kingdom. These men left all again to bring their monarch to his home: and shall they then be forgotten by you?" All in vain! No eloquence could reach the Parliament, still largely tinctured with Puritanism. Their fanaticism may be judged from the fact of their attributing the great fire of London, in 1666, to the Papists, instead of to narrow streets and wooden houses.

The claims of the Catholic gentry being successfully resisted, Ormond lent his hand anew to overreaching the episcopacy. Seeing the king so weak, and the Parliament so strong, the bishops were willing to waive some of the claims advanced at the restoration. All Europe had remarked on the breach of the royal faith plighted to them, and it was deemed politic by the king's ministers to show some desire to redeem the pledges of Breda. In this spirit the duke proposed a synod of such of the surviving bishops, abroad, as he should grant passes to for that purpose. Father Walsh's remonstrance, the propositions adopted by the University of Paris in 1663, and some Irish books, pub-

lished at Lisbon, advocating the abstract right of Ireland forcibly to separate from England, were to be submitted to them — the first two for approval, these last for formal condemnation. On these topics, the lieutenant anticipated either division or disagreement: "Set them at open difference," wrote the Earl of Cork, "that we may reap some practical advantage thereby." "My object," responded Ormond, "was to work a division among the Romish clergy." *

No subjects of debate could be better chosen for the purpose than Gallican and Ultramontane principles.

This memorable synod, which tested so severely the fortitude of the outlawed bishops, met in Dublin, on the 11th of June, 1666, and sat fifteen days. The primate, O'Reilly, the Bishop of Meath, the vicars of four other bishops, (all who then remained alive,) and the superiors of the regular orders attended. The regular clergy at the time, in Ireland, amounted to eleven hundred, and the seculars to seven hundred and eighty. By these, through their representatives, the propositions of Paris were formally repudiated, and "the remonstrance" set aside as of questionable orthodoxy. They condemned the books advocating separation from England, and presented a succinct declaration of their own loyalty. Wherever the propositions or the remonstrance had trenched on the Papal supremacy, they courageously condemned both.† On the 25th, the synod was ordered to disperse, the bishops and vicars fled, and all seminaries and convents were closed by proclamation. Primate O'Reilly, after being imprisoned in England, was allowed to exile himself. In 1669, he died at Brussels, and Dr. Oliver Plunkett, a professor in the College *de Propaganda Fide* was sent from Rome to fill his place.

---

* Curry's Civil Wars, book ix. c. 14. — Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 10. The letter of the duke to Lord Orrery is given in Curry's Civil Wars.

† Walsh's History of the Remonstrance. Charles Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. iii. p. 420.

The Catholic exiles abroad filled Europe with their denunciations of Ormond's persecution, which was almost as severe as Cromwell's. The pope and the King of Spain joined in reproaching Charles. His court was divided into factions, and he himself seems only to have hoped that the monarchy might outlast his day. In 1669, however, Ormond was removed from the viceroyalty, and after a few months of Lord Roberts, Lord Berkeley, a pro-Catholic, was appointed, through the influence of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Lord Berkeley's administration was a blessed calm to the Irish Catholics. Primate Plunkett openly visited his diocese, confirming children, consecrating churches, and ordaining priests. A synod was allowed to sit in Dublin, without interference of the state. Peter Talbot, archbishop of the city, was received in his robes at the castle. Chapels were connived at in every ward; new priests arrived by every ship; Catholic aldermen were admitted to the municipal councils, and some Catholic commoners were elected to Parliament.

Emboldened by these signs, the Catholic gentry, disinherited by the act of settlement, appointed Colonel Richard Talbot, one of the Duke of York's favorites, special agent to promote their claims at London. In August, 1671, notwithstanding the rigorous opposition of Ormond, Orrery, and Finch, a royal commission was issued, during the recess of Parliament, to inquire into the allegations of the petitioners. A regular storm arose in consequence, and the Puritan majority of the new House of Commons, in 1673, compelled the king to recall Lord Berkeley, and to rescind "the declaration of indulgence to dissenters," granted three years before. They did not stop here: they proceeded, in the infamous "test act," to declare every person incapable of civil or military employment who did not take the oath of supremacy, renounce transubstantiation, and "receive the sacrament" according to their heretical form; they demanded that all convents and seminaries should be closed, that all Catholics should be expelled from corporate towns, and that Colonel Talbot should be

arrested. The king, to whom the very name of a Parliament was terrible, yielded on every point. Archbishop Talbot, with his brother, being specially named in the parliamentary address, had to fly into France for present safety.

After three years of truce or toleration, the war was thus renewed on the Irish church. In these years she had undergone such reparation as enabled her to survive the terrible storms then approaching. The primate, Oliver Plunkett, a man of rare sagacity, goodness, and energy, had increased the secular clergy from eleven hundred to above two thousand; healed the breaches between the Dominicans and Franciscans, and while maintaining the dignity of his own see, had aided in the restoration of several others. His astonishing labors were the best proof that he was the worthiest of all the Irish church to fill the see which St. Patrick had founded, and which St. Malachy had, under similar circumstances, repaired.

Lord Essex, Berkeley's successor, continued viceroy in Ireland till 1677, when he was succeeded by old Ormond. He permitted the secret exercise of Catholic worship, which Ormond, now that the war bishops were all dead, would probably have continued to allow, had not "the Popish Plot" suddenly broke out in London. News of the discovery reached him in his castle at Kilkenny in October, 1678, and though in private he ridiculed the clumsy inventions of Oates and Bedloe,* he publicly affected great anxiety and activity in bringing the accused parties to justice.

This horrible delusion, known as "the Popish Plot," was one of those periodical paroxysms of superstition and bigotry to which the English popular mind has, since the reformation, been subject. Its author was Titus Oates, "a drunken and disorderly minister" of the establishment; a wretch who had left his character in the stews, and his ears in the pillory; yet was he implicitily believed, not only against priests and Jesuits,

* Carte's Life of Ormond.

but against peers of the realm, and even the king's consort and brother. His success excited rivals; Bedloe, Carstairs, and Dangerfield appeared in quick succession, and the wildest inventions of romance were probable, compared to their narratives. Yet, on such testimony, scores of innocent lives were taken, and the fatal prison cells, throughout both kingdoms, were crowded with the "suspected."

This reign of terror was made the pretext for extending the test act to the peers of the realm. James, Duke of York, and seven others, in the House of Lords, protested against a measure to that effect; but the measure passed. The duke was next driven from the privy council, and an attempt made to exclude him and his issue from the throne; but after a protracted contest, and two dissolutions of Parliament, it failed, and the duke's friends increased as the credit of the plot and the health of Charles declined. James's conduct at this juncture, as well as his marriage with Mary of Modena, a Catholic, caused him to be regarded as the head and hope of the Catholics of both islands.

While "the plot" raged, Ormond adopted the most severe measures against the Irish Catholics. He seized Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, "then in a dying way," and threw him into the castle prison, where, in 1681, he expired. He issued a proclamation, dated October 16, ordering all bishops, priests, and Jesuits to depart the kingdom by the 20th of November. Another proclamation commanded all ship masters, outward bound, to carry them away; another offered large rewards for every officer and soldier who might be found attending mass; another banished all Catholics from the principal walled towns and cities. An earlier proclamation, in 1679, ordered "the kindred and friends" of all recusants, or "persons out on their keeping," to be seized and imprisoned till the said persons were "either killed or taken;" also, that whenever a murder was committed, and the murderer not discovered, "the pretended Popish parish priest" (if any) should be transported beyond the seas till the murderer was "either killed or taken." "Vast

numbers of priests were shipped off," on these and other pretences, "and the rest lurked in holes and corners." Some, for their heroic devotion to their missions, paid the final penalty of death on the scaffold.

Among the martyrs of this age, the most illustrious in rank and virtues was the primate. On the issuing of the proclamation, he left his usual residence, and went secretly to lodge in a village called Castletown Bellew. Here he held a last ordination, and here, on the 6th of December, 1679, he was arrested, on a charge of exercising ecclesiastical authority contrary to law. The next year this charge was dropped, and the more tangible one of high treason taken up. One Hetherington, an accomplished English "discoverer" of the Oates school, was sent over by Shaftesbury "to obtain information;" and by him a score of good swearers were readily enlisted. These wretches, and those they accused, were ordered to London for the trial. Lord Burke of Brittas, and some others, arrested on the same evidence, escaped by the glaring contradiction of the witnesses; but the primate was not equally fortunate, though the witnesses against him were also contradictory. In 1680, he had been lodged in Newgate, London, "where for six months no Christian came near him, nor did he know how things stood in the world." His trial, brought on in May, and postponed till June, was had before a bench that knew neither justice nor good manners. Jeffreys, then a sergeant, was the chief prosecutor. The principal witnesses were Duffy and McMoyer, two friars, whom he had been forced to degrade for their vices. The charge was, that he had conspired to bring in the French at Carlingford, and to raise another Irish rebellion. The "discoverers" of course swore roundly. The primate, who made his own defence, contended, I. That, by law, he should have been tried in Ireland. II. That, a copy of the indictment being refused him, he could have no defence ready. III. That at least he should be allowed time to bring his witnesses over from Ireland. After his clear and able demonstration of the legality of the trial, the following remarkable scene took place:—

"*Lord Chief Justice.* Well, you have nothing further to say in bar of judgment: you have said all you can?

"*Plunkett.* I have nothing further to say but what I "have said.

"[Then proclamation was made for silence, while "judgment was passing upon the prisoner.]

"*Lord Chief Justice.* Look you: Mr. Plunkett, you "have been here indicted of a very great and heinous "crime — the greatest and most heinous of all crimes; "and that is high treason; and truly yours is treason of "the highest nature; it is a treason, in truth, against God "and your king, and the country where you lived. You "have done as much as you could to dishonor God in "this case; for the bottom of your treason was your "setting up your false religion, than which there is not "any thing more displeasing to God or more pernicious "to mankind in the world — a religion that is ten times "worse than all the heathenish superstitions; the most "dishonorable and derogatory to God and his glory of "all religions or pretended religions whatsoever; for it "undertakes to dispense with God's laws, and to pardon "the breach of them. So that certainly a greater crime "there cannot be committed against God than for a man "to endeavor the propagation of that religion: but you, "to effect this, have designed the death of our lawful "prince and king; and then your design of blood in the "kingdom where you lived, to set all together by the "ears, to destroy poor innocent people, to prostitute their "lives and liberties, and all that is dear to them, to the "tyranny of Rome and France, and that by introducing "a French army. What greater evil can be designed "by any man? I mention these things because they "have all been proved against you, and that you may "take notice and repent of them, and make your peace "with God by a particular application for mercy for all "these faults; for it seems to me that against God, your "prince, and fellow-subjects, you have behaved yourself "very ill, designing very great evil to all these; and now "it hath pleased God to bring you to judgment. I must

" tell you, peradventure, what you urge for yourself might " induce pity if it were to be believed; that is, that you " are innocent, and had witnesses to prove it: but we " cannot suppose any man innocent that hath had a legal " and fair trial, and a trial with as much candor to you " as your case could bear, or as, perhaps, any man in " such a case ever had. You had time, upon your re- " quest, to send for your witnesses to help you in your " defence, and to prove your innocence, if you could have " done it; time long enough to your own content; you " yourself thought it so at the time it was given. To " give a prisoner, under your circumstances, five or six " weeks' time to send for witnesses, is not usual; we " could have put you upon a present defence, and hurried " you out of the world by a sudden trial, if we had had " any design against you; but we go on in a fair way, " and with legal proceedings, and with such a respect to " you as in such a case could be used, for we gave you " all the fair hearing and liberty that you desired to have. " Look you, as to what you urge, that your trial was in " this kingdom, whereas your defence was in another; " that is a thing that does not become you by any means " to object, for you have had a trial here by honest per- " sons, and that according to the laws which obtain in " this kingdom, and that, too, in Ireland, which is by a " statute not made on purpose to bring you into a snare, " but an ancient statute, and not without precedence of " having been put in execution before your time; for " your own country will afford you several precedents in " this case, as O'Rourk, and several others that have been " arraigned and condemned for treason done here. So " that you have no reason to except against the legality " of your trial. You say, now you have witnesses that " could prove all this matter; why, that lies in the mouth " of every man that is condemned to say; but pray con- " sider with yourself what regard ought to be given to " this. We cannot help it if your witnesses do not " come; you may remember they wanted not time nor " opportunity to come over; but you told us they would " not come, unless they had a passport.

"*Plunkett.* My lord, they got a pass to come over "afterwards, and so in eight days they came hither.

"*Lord Chief Justice.* You might have provided your- "self if they wanted such a thing. In the first place, "nobody is bound to give it them, much less could you "expect it for them without asking.

"*Plunkett.* I could not get the copies of the records, "neither, by any means, unless I had an order from the "council; and they would not give that order, unless "your lordship appointed it.

"*Lord Chief Justice.* We cannot tell that; you should "have petitioned in time.

"*Plunkett.* How could any one foresee, unless he was "God Almighty, that they would deny it, or that he "could not get out a copy of a record, paying for it, "without a petition. All the friends I had told me, upon "motion there, it might be had; but here I have it under "the lieutenant's and council's hands that they would "give no copy of records without order from home, "which, before I could know it, it was impossible for me "to have them ready against my trial.

"*Lord Chief Justice.* Look you, sir, I do speak this "to you, to show you that those objections which you "mean to make against your trial have no weight at "all; but in this case it is not the jury that are so ma- "terial as the witnesses themselves. I appeal to all "that heard your trial, if they could so much as doubt "but that you were guilty of what you were charged "with. For, consider, here were persons of your own "religion, the most of them priests, I think almost all of "them in orders.

"*Plunkett.* There were two friars and a priest, whom "I have endeavored to correct seven years, and they were "renegades from your religion, and dastard apostates.

"*Lord Chief Justice.* Look you, sir; they gave an evi- "dence very home to your matter; you had liberty to ex- "amine them, and they gave you a rational account of "any thing you asked. Let me put you in mind of one "thing. You made exceptions to one's evidence, (and "indeed that was very much of your exceptions to all,)

" why he did not reveal this in all that time. Truly he " told you he was of your mind till he went into France, " and saw what slavery and mischief you endeavored to " introduce upon his and your countrymen; and this his " spirit rose against, to see what a condition Ireland was " like to be brought into. And pray, did he not give you " a full answer to your question?

" *Plunkett.* I had sufficient witnesses to prove he was " an apostate, and was chastised by me, and therefore " had prepensed malice against me.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* Therefore I have spoken this to " the satisfaction, I hope, of yourself and all that hear it. " I do now wish you to consider you are near your end. " It seems you have lived in a false religion hitherto: it " is not too late at any time to repent; I wish you may " have the grace to do so. In the mean time, there is " no time for us here to grant you any kind of mercy, " though I'll tell you we are inclined to pity all malefac- " tors; whoever have done evil, we are inclined to pity " them, and wish heartily that they may repent, as we do " that you may of what you have done. But all we can " do now is to say what the law says, and that is, to pass " judgment upon you.

" *Plunkett.* May it please your lordship to give me " leave to speak one word. If I were a man that had no " care of my conscience in this matter, and did not think " of God Almighty, or conscience, or heaven, or hell, I " might have saved my life, for I was offered it by divers " people here, so I would but confess my own guilt, and " accuse others. But, my lord, I had rather die ten thou- " sand deaths than wrongfully accuse any body. And the " time will come when your lordship will see what those " witnesses are that have come in against me. I do as- " sure your lordship, if I were a man that had not good " principles, I might easily have saved my life; but I " had rather die ten thousand deaths than wrongfully to " take away one farthing of any man's goods, one day of " his liberty, or one minute of his life.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* I am sorry to see you persist in " the principles of that religion.

" *Plunkett.* They are those principles that even God " Almighty cannot dispense withal.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* Well, however, the judgment " which we must give you is that which the law says " and speaks. And therefore you must go from hence " to the place from whence you came, that is, to New- " gate, and from thence you shall be drawn through the " city of London to Tyburn; there you shall be hanged " by the neck, but cut down before you are dead, your " bowels shall be taken out and burned before your face, " your head shall be cut off, and your body be divided " into four quarters, to be disposed of as his majesty " pleases; and I pray God to have mercy upon your soul.

" *Plunkett.* My lord, I hope I may have this favor, of " leave for a servant and some few friends I have to come " to me.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* I think you may have liberty for " any servant to come to you. I know nothing to the " contrary.

" *Plunkett.* And some few friends that I have in town.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* But I would advise you to " have some minister to come to you, some Protestant " minister.

" *Plunkett.* My lord, if you please, there are some in " prison that never were indicted on account of any " crime, and they will do my business very well; for they " will do it according to the rites of our own church, " which is the ancient usage; they cannot do it better, " and I will not alter it now.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* Mr. Richardson, you may let " his servant come to him, and any friend, in your pres- " ence, to see there be no evil done, nor any contrivances " that may hereafter have an influence upon affairs.

" *Justice Jones.* Be you present, or somebody.

" *Plunkett.* My servant, I hope, may come without " his being present.

" *Lord Chief Justice.* Yes, yes; his servant may be " with him. Well, sir, we wish better to you than you " do to yourself.

" *Plunkett.* God Almighty bless your lordship. And

" now, my lord, as I am a dead man to this world, and " as I hope for mercy in the other world, I was never " guilty of any of the treasons laid to my charge, as you " will hear in time; and my character you may receive " from my lord chancellor of Ireland, my Lord Berkeley, " my Lord Essex, and my Lord Ormond."

Prepared for death by Father Corker, one of his fellow-prisoners, he went cheerfully to execution, on the 1st of July, 1681, and was beheaded, embowelled, and quartered "according to law," on Tyburn green. Some relics of this holy martyr are now preserved at the Sienna convent, in Drogheda. His betrayers, one after another perished miserably.*

About the time of the primate's execution, one whose life was often attempted in vain, by the same suborned set who brought Dr. Plunkett to the block, perished by a treacherous device of the lord lieutenant. The duke, having by some means got into the secret of this gentleman's private affairs, employed one William Lucas, " to whom he gave such private instructions" as procured him an interview with his victim on the 25th of April, 1681. Lucas, seizing the opportunity, shot him through the heart.

Redmond O'Hanlon, or Count O'Hanlon, (such was the title of the murdered man,) was the representative of a noble Irish family. Educated abroad, he was a soldier by disposition and training, an accomplished musician, and a poet. From his camp, amid the Mourne Mountains, he governed Louth and Down, and commanded the passes from Dublin to the north. His passport was better obeyed than a royal writ, and his laws were more respected than the acts of the Parliament. He is remembered still, in the traditions of Ulster, as the Cromwellians' scourge, the protector of the poor, and a gallant, finished gentleman. His assassination is the last consummate

* See his Life, by Rev. Dr. Croly of Maynooth, Dublin, published by James Duffy. Dr. Plunkett is stated by his biographer and by Bishop Challoner to be the last martyr who publicly suffered for the faith in Great Britain. This is incorrect. Father Maloney, or Father Nicholas Shechy, of Clonmel, was, probably, the last.

crime that we shall have to record against the memory of Ormond.*

Other men and other councils, were to prevail for a season in both kingdoms, and this old but not venerable viceroy was to drain beside his grave, the bitter cup of exile, administered so often by his hand to other and better men.

CHAPTER II.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II. — TALBOT, LORD DEPUTY. — IRISH SOLDIERS IN ENGLAND. — INVASION OF WILLIAM III. — IRISH PARLIAMENT OF 1686. — "NO POPERY" RIOTS IN LONDON. — "THE IRISH NIGHT." — THE WAR IN IRELAND.

King Charles, died and was succeeded by his brother, James, in 1685. Unlike the rest of his house, James had given hostages to the Catholics. To be their friend he had forfeited the confidence of a powerful party in England, and his constancy to principle during the last stormy years of his brother's reign had deservedly earned him their confidence and gratitude.

Though secretly a Catholic, the king was compelled by the circumstances of his country to moderate his zeal. From the beginning, his reign is remarkable for a divided policy. In a speech to the privy council, after his coronation, he declared his confidence in the loyalty of the established church. Soon after, he avowed to Louis and the Pope his design speedily to restore the Catholic religion. He sent the younger Clarendon,

---

* Attempts have been made under English influences to degrade the historical character of Count O'Hanlon. In such accounts he is represented as an earlier Rob Roy, or Freney. No lie could be much farther from the truth than this. He was, of course, adjudged an "outlaw" by English tribunals, but was so in the sense that partisan chiefs, like Zamalacaraguia and Cabrera, were "outlawed" by the ruling power in Spain. Hereward le Wake, William Wallace, and the American General Marion, were just such outlaws as Redmond O'Hanlon.

brother of his first wife, as viceroy to Dublin, and appointed Richard Talbot, agent of the Irish Catholics twenty years before, commander of the forces in Ireland. These half measures abated the confidence of the pope, of France, and the Irish Catholics. At the same time they revived a Protestant party, and kept it alive. His first course was to temporize; but neither friends nor enemies could permit this. Committed by his own agents, encouraged by Louis, and drawn on by the opposition, he was soon obliged to adopt more decided measures, and to face the armed apprehensions he had prematurely aroused. His coronation, with its first flush of popularity, was hardly over, when he came to sterner work. In 1686, Clarendon was recalled, and with his elder brother, Rochester, dismissed the privy council. Lords Dover, Belayses, Arundel, and Powis, all Catholics, were appointed to the first offices in England, and Richard Talbot, created Earl of Tyrconnel, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland.

Talbot, a titular Catholic of ancient family, was not deficient in talents. He had been a hard liver in his youth, and had seen many changes of fortune. In a proverbially corrupt court, he had lived in intrigue, and had earned an evil notoriety. He brought to the government of Ireland the swaggering hardihood of the Cavaliers, an exhausted constitution, a diplomatic intellect, and a hearty detestation of the Puritans. The experience of nearly half a century had convinced him that the only hope of the king and the Catholics was in a remodelled army, and a determined policy. If James had been as resolute a king as Tyrconnel was a viceroy, the revolution would have begun with very different odds, if it ever did begin.

James, as an Englishman, was doubtful of the native Irish; and as a Stuart, he was mortally afraid of a Parliament. Without Tyrconnel's inbred audacity, he agreed with all his arguments, but adopted not one of his conclusions. In this way, by hesitation and timidity, he defeated the most zealous, and, up to a certain point, the most useful of his ministers.

It has been a traditional policy at Dublin Castle to make the Irish viceroyalty a fulcrum of operations in British politics. This policy was tried in the wars of the Roses, by Richard, duke of York, and by Margaret of Burgundy; it was imitated by Strafford, and by Cromwell, and was now taken up by King James. The present object was to raise in Ireland the standing army, which England jealously resisted, and to send the companies, as they were drilled, across the Channel. Accordingly, Tyrconnel, in 1685, commenced remodelling the army, filling the ranks, and giving commissions to Irish officers. A thousand Puritan families, taking alarm at this prospect, fled from Dublin; but the older Protestants remained undisturbed, and the panic of the Cromwellians was found to be entirely groundless. The Irish Catholics were not less tolerant in the reign of James — with the accumulated wrongs of a century to avenge — than they had been in the reign of Philip and Mary. The voluminous memoirs of those times do not record a single outrage upon Protestant life or property during the time the king, the viceroy, and the army were Catholic.

On one point alone was there any ground for Protestant apprehension — a repeal of the act of settlement of 1660. A majority of those plundered under this law, and of those who received the spoils, were still alive. The wrong was not beyond remedy, and many entertained hopes of recovering part, or all, their ancient possessions. When Tyrconnel first arrived, he declared the settlement unalterable; but as the party breach grew wider between the king's friends and enemies, he began to hint at inquiry and restoration. No such intention was really cherished by James: like all his family, he preferred English to Irish interests, and the English Roman Catholics, in his ministry, "were unanimous in favor of the act of settlement." * In this state of agitation were both parties kept, during Monmouth's invasion and the subsequent years, until the Irish Catholic

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. p. 113, (Boston edition.)

Parliament of 1689 finally disposed of the question by rejecting a proposal to amend or alter the act of settlement.

In the battle of Sedgemoor, in 1685, Patrick Sarsfield, a gallant cavalry officer, and others of his countrymen, appeared on the king's side, and aided in the suppression of Monmouth's insurrection. From that period forth, Irish recruits were sought after to fill vacancies in the English ranks. The political events of 1686 and 1687, urged the king to still further military preparations. In the latter year, he ordered entire Irish companies to be landed at Chester and Bristol, and quartered in different garrison towns. This measure alarmed all the worst passions of the English. The vilest lies of 1641 were reprinted from the Puritan broadsheets, and scattered through London and the country. The doggerel lines, known as "Lillibulero!" which attributed all manner of vices to the Irish character, were sung in all directions. British officers made the most offensive distinctions between the soldiers of the different nations, and, when called to account for their conduct, openly or secretly sold themselves to William, Prince of Orange.

This prince, married to Mary, James's daughter, inherited the ability of an able house, with an accumulation of its unscrupulous ambition. At the age of manhood he was distinguished as a captain and statesman. Not only had he preserved Holland against all the power of Louis XIV., but he cherished a far weightier design — the conquest of England. His court was, for many years, the refuge of all the malecontents of his father-in-law's government. Monmouth, Argyle, Burnet, and Sunderland successively found patronage and protection at the Hague. His passive wife, an accomplice to the dishonor of her own bed, allowed her name to be freely used in promoting the interests of her husband, even to the ruin of her father. In 1688, when the scheme of the Dutch invasion was ripe, William was in his thirty-eighth year, and one of the most famous public characters in Europe.

In October of that year he sailed from Helvoetsluys, and on the 5th of November, landed at Torbay, with a

chosen army of nearly thirty thousand men, ample munitions and funds, and some of the best officers in the world.

Strange tendency of history to repeat itself! Six hundred years before, another William crossed the same strait, with the same design, and was equally successful in the conquest of Britain! Four hundred years before, the founder of the Tudor dynasty took the same course, with the same purpose and equal good fortune!

From William's voyage downwards, we find a Jacobite and a Williamite party in British politics. In William's army were the Earls of Macclesfield, Shrewsbury, Danby, and Clarendon, of the British peerage; Churchill, Kirke, Grafton, and other officers deserted to him on his march from Torbay to London; the other son-in-law of the king, Prince George of Denmark, and his wife, the Princess Anne, joined the invaders, and abandoned their father. The bishops of the established church went with the peerage; and so William the Conqueror reached the capital without other military opposition than a skirmish or two by the way.

William's first success was due to James's irresolution. He could not bring himself to distrust his enemy, nor to trust his friends. He negotiated, while William advanced, under shelter of the negotiation, from post to post. Despairing of a successful resistance, he decided on saving his family. Two French and three Irish officers volunteered to conduct the queen and the young prince (afterwards called James III.) to France. They succeeded in their design, and on the 11th day of December, James himself fled in disguise from London, after throwing the great seal into the Thames. At Christmas, he rejoined his family in France.

The Catholic nobles, people, and soldiery, especially those of Irish origin, were now left in a critical position. Orange ribbons (first used to decorate the High Street, of Oxford, for William's entrance) flaunted from every window which let in light to loyalty; "Lillibulero," was the chant of the revolution; "tory" (the Irish for *robber*) was the contemptuous term applied to the

Jacobites, who retorted on their opponents the Scottish nickname of "whig."

The night of the king's escape, the fanatical spirit of Oates's time broke out at London. The cry of "No Popery" was raised in the streets and courts, "on the longest night, as it chanced, of the year." The rabble of the slums and mews came forth to plunder and kill, while the bigots of better condition joined in and directed the work of outrage. The ambassadors of Spain and Venice, had their houses and chapels burned to the ground; the French ambassador had obtained a strong guard, and protected himself. The Catholic churches were rifled and set on fire. The ornaments of the altar, the vestments of the priests, and "a great mountain of books," were made into a bonfire at Clerkenwell, round which men and women, drunk and blackened with smoke, danced and shrieked out blasphemy. The first fury of "the reformation" had hardly produced such a scene.

A panic as abject as the riot was cowardly succeeded. General Feversham, false to his royal master and his own honor, had disbanded the Irish soldiers previous to going over to the invaders. A rumor was spread through London, as the riot flagged, that these soldiers were marching upon the city. The Londoners continued under arms, to the number of twenty thousand. The night of the 13th of December was long remembered by them as "the Irish night," during which it was expected the disbanded soldiers were to sack the city, murder the men, ravish the women, and eat up the children alive.

"No Popery" riots spread through England. "The houses of many Roman Catholic gentlemen were attacked. Parks were ravaged; deer were slain and stolen." A self-appointed police rendered the roads impassable to Papists. The bigotry of the days of Elizabeth was revived in shire towns and among the country gentry. The Catholics of Lancashire, were especially persecuted. Lord Powis and other Catholic nobles fled for safety into France. Bishops Leyburn and Gillis,

and a great number of clergymen, were flung into the Tower and the provincial prisons. The pope's nuncio escaped disguised as a servant, in the train of the Duke of Savoy's ambassador.

The Irish Catholic soldiers, dispersed in various counties, were deprived of leaders and of efficiency. They refused, however, to surrender tamely. At Tilbury, headed by one of their own number, they resisted the Williamites commanded by the Duke of Grafton, but were overpowered, and their brave leader shot. At Wincanton, Sarsfield's cavalry gave a severe handling to General Mackay's advance guard. At Reading, in a contest with some Dutch troops and the inhabitants, an Irish regiment lost fifty men and their colors. Two hundred Irish soldiers, having seized an East Indiaman in the Thames, but unable to find a pilot, were driven ashore at Gravesend, and gallantly defended themselves; after a heavy loss, the remnant surrendered. Other groups, more fortunate, found their way, through many dangers and hardships, to the Irish Sea, and procured passage to their own country. The majority, however, were transferred to the Austrian service, through the politic arrangements of King William. Surely it is a contrast on which history will not fail to dwell — the heroic constancy and devotion of these men to their colors, as contrasted with the perjury, treason, and ingratitude of the English peerage, and the bishops of the establishment.

While the "No Popery" riots were raging in England, and William debated at London whether he would claim the crown by "right of conquest," or receive it at the hands of a convention of the estates, the partisans of James, at Dublin, were neither in despair nor idle. The convention at London was "making title" for William; the Duke of Perth, and other Scotch Jacobites, had abandoned Scotland to the prince; but Ireland still held out for her king. True, he had been no very zealous friend to her interest; true, his family had confiscated, within a century, two thirds of the island, to enrich those very English and Scotch who now deposed him.

Still he was a Stuart, descended through Fleance, Fergus, and Malcom, from Milesius himself; he was a Catholic, and was suffering for his faith; he was a friend of France, the friend of Ireland; he was a king, and in exile; his queen and heir had been intrusted to Irish fidelity, and his army had been principally recruited by Irishmen. These reasons, the policy of Tyrconnel, the assurances from France, and the fame of Sarsfield, constituted James's popularity in Ireland.

On the 13th of February, 1689, William and Mary were declared King and Queen of "England, France, and Ireland," at Whitehall. On the 12th of March, James landed from France, at Kinsale, with about one hundred French officers, and twelve hundred English and Irish refugees. In June, William despatched Kirke, with six thousand men, to Derry, and Schomberg, with fourteen thousand, to Carrickfergus. Thus this memorable contest was transferred to Ireland by both the parties.

James began his career in Ireland with a Parliament. Since the great court which elected Henry, in 1541, the Parliaments at Dublin were called at the king's pleasure; but after the expulsion of the recusants, in 1620, there was no free representation of the people, through the seventeenth century. In 1644, the Irish Commons had shown some independence in the impeachment of Strafford, and had ordered Chancellor Bolton to answer Sergeant Maynard's book, contending for the supremacy of the Parliament of England. The same year, it passed an act naturalizing the Scots, in Ulster. During Cromwell's time, the Long Parliament legislated for the three kingdoms; but after the restoration, the Irish Parliament was revived. In 1661, it was engaged in reversing certain outlawries, and in 1662, it ratified the English "act of settlement," prepared by Sir Heneage Finch. In 1663, it voted £30,000 to the Duke of Ormond, — a bonus on the act of settlement, — and adjourned. In 1676, there was a partial national representation, but it was overpowered by the Puritan party.

As soon as James reached Dublin, writs were issued for a new Parliament. A fortnight from his landing,

there assembled at the inns of court, in that city, the most national assembly which had been convoked since the days of the good old recusants. For boroughs and counties, O'Neils, O'Connors, O'Kellys, O'Briens, and O'Moores sat, with the children of the Barnwalls, Plunketts, Butlers, and Fitzgeralds. The king's cabinet was in harmony with the legislature. Tyrconnel, viceroy, Chief Justice Nugent, Baron Rice, Attorney General Nagle, Solicitor Henry O'Reilly, and the principal French officers, with a few of the English nobility, sat in this council. Advised by these, and aided by the Parliament, he adopted a policy which thirty thousand Irish soldiers were prepared to defend. Among the laws of this legislature — all passed during April and May — were an act declaring the Parliament of Ireland independent of that of England; an act to annul patents for life; an act concerning martial law; an act taxing absentees; an act regulating tithes; and other useful and substantial laws.*

An act introduced by Chief Justice Nugent, for the amendment of the act of settlement, was rejected by a large majority.†

During the sitting of Parliament, James made several Irish peers. Tyrconnel was raised to the rank of a duke, Justin McCarthy was made Lord Mountcashel, and Patrick Sarsfield Earl of Lucan.

The military preparations, in the interim, went on. The principal Irish proprietors had raised regiments of their own tenants, and equipped them; some better, some worse. There were four regiments of O'Neil's tenants, two of O'Brien's, two of O'Kelly's, and one each of O'Donnell's, McMahon's, Magennis's, Fitzgerald's, De Courcey's, O'More's, Nugent's, St. Lawrence's, Maguire's,

---

* James was supported by a great body of Catholics, who, though they were called Catholics, were not slaves; for they *obtained a constitution from him before they accompanied him to the field.* — *Grattan's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 12.

† Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, beginning March 25, 1689, and ending June following. London, 1689. In the British Museum.

and Sarsfield's. The French and English officers, De Rosen, Pusignan, Boisselleau, and Lauzan, as well as Sheldon, Hamilton, and other English or Scotch gentlemen, had high command in the new army, but not to the exclusion of native officers, where they could be obtained, and were qualified by service.

At the opening of the first campaign, in 1689, the military position each party occupied was this: All the west was in the hands of James's adherents; Ulster, Carrickfergus, Coleraine, Derry, and the fort of Culmore, were held by the "Scotch-Irish," for William; in Leinster and Munster, the principal places had declared for King James. When, therefore, William landed at Carrickfergus, the line of his first operations might be drawn from Lough Erin to the mouth of the Boyne; that is, from Enniskillen, through Cavan and Meath, to Drogheda.

Lieutenant General Hamilton, James's commander in Ulster, after beating the enemy, under Montgomery and Lundy, at Dromore and Cladysfort, had taken possession of Coleraine, and placed a garrison there under Colonel O'More; Charlemont was garrisoned and commanded by Captain O'Regan; Colonel Dundee abandoned Culmore, and sailed to England; and Derry had sent to propose terms, when James, on coming to the camp, refused to listen to "his rebels," and thus drove Derry to its desperate and gallant defence. The siege was undertaken without a siege train, and Derry, naturally and artificially strong, held out until the Williamite General Kirke entered the harbor with six thousand men, and abundant stores, and relieved the brave inhabitants.

After James reached Hamilton's camp, every thing went wrong. Near Dundalk, after raising the siege of Derry, he came up with Marshal Schomberg, who had got enclosed in an unfavorable position, with pestilence decimating his men. Instead of attacking him, James manœuvred, and in October went into winter quarters. On this occasion, De Rosen exclaimed, "If your majesty had a hundred kingdoms, you would lose them all."

He sent a cavalry detachment to Cavan to dislodge four times their number, and was surprised to hear they were beaten; being told that the pass of Slane was an important place, he ordered "fifty dragoons" to be sent "towards it," and committed a hundred other errors. Misfortunes, and the vile ingratitude of his children and nobles, had, besides, made him so irritable, that he would hear no reason till the mischief was past, and then he would blame every one but himself.

Having virtually abandoned the northern line of defence, (formed by Lough Erin, the Cavan lakes, and the Boyne,) De Rosen advised the king to fall back on the line of the Shannon as his base of operations. James rejected this advice, and prepared for another northern campaign the following spring.

In June, 1690, William, in person, took the command of his troops in Ulster, and began his march towards Dublin. James marched northward to meet him, resolved, at the wrong moment, to fight. In war, as in politics, indecision was his ruin. He again hesitated to send forward a detachment to defend the passes beyond the Boyne; and when, at last, he consented to do battle, his adversary had thirty-six thousand veterans and a powerful artillery against his twenty thousand raw recruits, six thousand French, and three or four field pieces. Against these odds, and the greater military disparity of the leaders, the battle of the Boyne was fought, and lost. On the evening of that hard-fought but sorrowful day, well might the veteran Captain O'Regan exclaim to the Williamites, "Change kings, and we'll fight it over again!"

At the Boyne, William lost Schomberg, Caillemote, and other distinguished officers, and five thousand men. James suffered an equal loss in rank and file, three colors, and one cannon. General Hamilton was among William's prisoners. James only remained long enough in Dublin to vent his ill humor, and appoint Tyrconnel lord lieutenant. He then proceeded in haste to Waterford, and embarked for France, to return no more.

Dublin was abandoned by the viceroy as speedily as

by the king. The line of the Shannon was fallen back upon, and Limerick and Athlone became the chief objects of attack and defence. The former successfully resisted a first siege directed by William himself, in August of this year. By a brilliant countermarch, Sarsfield surprised his siege train at Cullin, and destroyed the guns. This obliged the raising of the siege, which was abandoned till the next year. At Athlone, General Douglas was also compelled to abandon the first siege.

William returned to England, and despatched Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, with additional forces and artillery, into Munster. Cork and Kinsale were taken; but in the winter operations in Kerry and Clare, De Ginkle was defeated, with heavy loss.

The third campaign opened very differently from the first. The whole north and east of Ireland was now in William's hands, and all the resources of Holland and England at his back. From Lough Foyle to Kinsale, the eastern coast was in his keeping; and his powerful army wanted no supply necessary to soldiers. Tyrconnel and De Lausan, on James's side, had visited France for instructions, as had the agents of the Irish officers, dissatisfied with the plan of the previous campaigns. To remove all difficulties, General St. Ruth was sent by Louis and James as commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland.

The Protestant army commenced operations in June, under De Ginkle, and took by storm Ballymore and Athlone, both of which were bravely defended. On the 12th of July, both armies met at Aughrim, and again William triumphed. St. Ruth, who had refused to communicate the plan of the battle to a council of war, fell; every Irish regiment left more than half of its numbers among the dead. Galway and Sligo, alarmed at this intelligence, surrendered at discretion. Limerick was again besieged on the 5th of August; and on the 13th, the famous capitulation called "the treaty of Limerick" was agreed to by the commissioners of both armies.

Twenty-nine of the articles of this treaty related to

the military. They were to have permission to emigrate to France, or to enlist with William. Almost to a man, they preferred exile to treason. With Sarsfield, four thousand five hundred sailed from Cork; with D'Usson, four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six from Limerick; with Wauchop, about three thousand from the same place. Other regiments, under their own commanders, as Burke's, Dillon's, and O'Brien's, also emigrated. In all, nineteen thousand and fifty-six fighting men arrived that year in France. They were formed into twelve French regiments, and retained their own officers, where their after career can be traced in a blaze of victory. In process of time, their exploits, as we shall see, exercised a decided influence on the fortunes of those they left behind.

Thus was dispersed the last Catholic army of Ireland, and with it the military defence of the church of St. Patrick. A century and a half of warfare closes with the fall of Limerick; the direct succession of the Catholic soldiers ends with Sarsfield. The lawyers who debated and the delegates who signed "the treaty of Limerick" are the pale forerunners of a new day and a new order. The pen, and voice, and human learning are to be the only visible defences of the church in Ireland, through many an age of trial, reserved for its faithful children.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF WILLIAM III. — VIOLATION OF THE TREATY OF LIMERICK. — PROSCRIPTION OF THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY. — FURTHER CONFISCATIONS OF CATHOLIC PROPERTY.

The civil articles of the treaty of Limerick were in relation to the rights of Catholics. Art. i. guarantied them "such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the law of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles II.;" also, this article

undertook that "their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from *any disturbance* on account of their said religion." Art. ii. guarantied pardon and protection to all who had served King James, on taking the oath of allegiance prescribed in art. ix., as follows: —

"I, A. B., do solemnly promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary; so help me God."

Arts. iii., iv., v., and vi. extended the provisions of arts. i. and ii. to merchants and other classes of men. Art. vii. permits "every nobleman and gentleman compromised in the said articles" to carry side arms, and keep "a gun in their houses." Art. viii. gives the right of removing goods and chattels without search. Art. ix. is as follows: —

"The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government *shall be the oath aforesaid, and no other.*"

Art. x. guaranties that "no person or persons who shall, at any time hereafter, break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to *forfeit or lose the benefit of them.*" Arts. xi. and xii. relate to the ratification of the articles "within eight months or sooner." Art. xiii. refers to the debts of "Colonel John Brown to several Protestants," and arranges for their satisfaction.

On King William's part, the treaty is signed by Lord Scravenmore, Generals Mackay, Talmash, and De Ginkle, and the Lords Justices Porter and Coningsby.

On the Irish side, the signers are Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, Viscount Galmoy, Sir Toby Butler, and Colonels Purcel, Cusack, Dillon, and Brown.

The date is October 3, 1691.*

---

* "And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us: Now, know ye, that we, having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby

A few days after the signing of the treaty, and before the English or outer town was delivered, a French fleet entered the Shannon, "with thirty thousand arms, one thousand men, two hundred officers, ammunition and provision;" but Irish honor was proof against the trial thus put upon it. In Dublin, the terms of the treaty were displeasing to the Puritans; but William received them with evident pleasure. De Ginkle had three earldoms given him, and a medal was struck, commemorating the event, with the motto, "*Limerica capta, Hibernia subacta, Octobris*, 1691."

---

to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles; which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the articles, the words following, viz. 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' should be inserted, and be part of the said omission, was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered, and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof: Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz., 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c., witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon quinto die Aprilis, annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos, { S. KECK. LACON WM. CHILDE. } *In Cancel. Magistros.*"

The Catholic army once well away from the Irish shore, the sovereigns and the Parliament began to tamper with the treaty. The following year, an oath of allegiance, altogether different from that prescribed by art. ix., was enacted by Parliament, and approved by William. In this oath, the Catholic was called on to swear he did *not* believe "that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is any transubstantiation of the elements;" "that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are damnable and idolatrous." An "oath of abjuration" was framed in the following session, binding Catholics "to abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deposed by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects;" furthermore, obliging them to swear that no foreign prince, person, or prelate "hath any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preëminence, or authority, *ecclesiastical or spiritual*, within this realm." Here were two flagrant violations of the second and ninth articles, and, indeed, of the whole treaty.

But bad faith did not stop even here. The Dublin Parliament, made up chiefly of bigots and mere adventurers, settled after the late war, passed an act, in 1694, "for the confirmation of articles made at the surrender of Limerick," which actually abolished those articles altogether. This act did not recite the articles, in whole or part, but, in the words of the lords' protest, "altered both their sense and meaning," and left "those in whose favor they were granted in a worse position than before." This protest was signed by the Lords Londonderry, Tyrone, and Duncannon, by the Protestant Bishops of Elphin, Derry, Clonfert, Killala, and the Barons of Ossory, Limerick, Killaloe, Kerry, Howth, Kingston, and Strabane. Still the act passed, and received the seal and signature of William and Mary.

That ancient instrument of oppression, a commission to inquire into defective titles, shortly issued, and decreed

that 1,060,792 acres were forfeited to the crown. This was the last fragment of the patrimony of the faithful Catholic inhabitants. When King William died, there did not remain to the class which, a century before, owned three fourths of the Irish soil, above "one sixth part" of what their grandfathers held in fee.*

The penal code of Elizabeth and the Stuarts was revived, and new and worse disabilities enacted in addition. By the 7th of William III. cap. 4, no Papist could keep a school, or teach in private families, except the children of the family; no Papist could bear arms, contrary to the express terms of art. vii. of the treaty; by the same statute, to send a child beyond seas was a felony, the case to be tried by a justice, not by a jury, and the burden of proof to fall on the accused. By the 9th William III. cap. 3, mixed marriages were forbidden, and, if either parent were a Protestant, "the children could be taken from the other to be reared in that faith." No Papist could be a legal guardian — the court of chancery to appoint one, and educate the ward a Protestant. By the same statute, rewards were fixed for informers against the violators of those laws, the amount to "be levied on the Papist inhabitants of the county." Such was the way in which King William, of pious and immortal memory, perjured his own soul, and avenged himself on a gallant, defeated enemy.†

The condition of the Irish church at William's death

---

* Bedford's Compendious and Impartial View of the Laws affecting Roman Catholics. London, 1829, p. 15.

† In defence of the intentions of William, it has been stated that he persecuted less from zeal or temper than to propitiate the native bigotry of his new kingdom. At one time he had a proclamation prepared, and even printed, guarantying the Irish Catholics "the free exercise of their religion, half the church establishment, and the moiety of their ancient properties." This document, called "the secret proclamation," was "suppressed on the first intelligence of the treaty of Limerick."— *Moore's Captain Rock*, p. 118, where John Dryden is quoted, as a contemporary witness, that William "was most unwilling to persecute," but was driven to do so by the ultra Protestants, headed by Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury. His resistance to the bigots does not seem to have been very vigorous or protracted, and we see no good reason to relieve his memory of the odium that must attach to it on account of Ireland.

was truly lamentable. In 1688 and 1689, it had received a great accession of pastors and religious from abroad. In Dublin, Limerick, and other cities, monasteries had been restored, and churches reëdified. When the military emigration took place, a few of the clergy accompanied it; but the rest remained, trusting to the treaty for protection. Between 1696 and 1699, four hundred and ninety-five secular and four hundred and twenty-four regular clergymen were banished the kingdom, and even the poor nuns had to fly. At Ypres, Lisbon, and Antwerp, they gathered themselves again into community, adding the sorrow of exile to the other mortifications of their lives. Two or three hundred of the clergy only remained, and they were hidden in "holes and corners." The majorities of the sees were administered by vicars, and remained for years without bishops.

But not alone did ecclesiastics feel the practical effects of the violation of the treaty. There was still enough of property left among the Catholics to repay the labors of the new commissioners. "From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the Parliament of England in 1698," says Lord Clare, "it appears that the Irish subjects outlawed for the *rebellion* of 1688 amounted to 3978; and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of £211,623, comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of Parliament, to defray the expenses incurred by England in reducing the rebels in 1688; and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers."* These new adventurers were chiefly German Protestants, whose descendants in Munster are known as "Palatines" until this day.

We need not wonder that among the few Catholics of property mentioned in the next two reigns, scarce any (if we except Sir Toby Butler) ventured to protest against the last acts of this national perfidy.

---

* Lord Chancellor Clare's speech on the Union. Dublin, (pamphlet,) 1800.

CHAPTER IV.

QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN. — "ACT TO DISCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF POPERY." — SIR TOBY BUTLER HEARD AT THE BAR OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. — HIS CHARACTER. — IMMENSE EMIGRATION. — PRIEST HUNTING. — PRIMATE MCMAHON.

QUEEN ANNE succeeded William in 1702. In the next year, according to the law of Poynings, "the heads of bills" were prepared by the Irish Parliament, to be sent over to England. Among those was the infamous "act to prevent the further growth of Popery," which provided that the eldest son of a Catholic, on becoming an apostate, might turn his father's estate into a tenantry for life, and take the fee simple and rental to himself. By the same statute, if a Catholic inherited property, he should conform within six months from the date the title accrued, or the estate be forfeited to the next "Protestant heir." By statute of the same year, (2 Anne, cap. 3, sec. 7,) if an unregistered priest was detected, a heavy fine was to be levied on the county in which he was found, and the proceeds paid over to the informer or detective. Against this bill, when first proposed at Dublin, the few remaining Catholics of influence, headed by Viscount Kingsland, Colonels Brown, Burke, and Nugent, Major Pat, Allen, and Arthur French, petitioned. The Parliament proceeded, and the bill was returned from London with the approval of the queen and her council. The Catholics, advised by Sir Toby Butler, who, with a few others, had been tolerated in the profession of law through family interest, renewed their opposition to it.

On the 22d of February, 1703, Sir Toby, with whom were Sir Stephen Rice and Counsellor Malone, appeared at the bar of the Irish House of Commons, against the bill "to prevent the further growth of Popery." The abstract of his speech on that occasion is one of the most remarkable documents of the age. It is full of interest and information. We copy from it at length:

" Sir Theobald Butler first moved and acquainted the " house, that, ' by the permission of that house, he was " come thither in behalf of himself, and the rest of the " Roman Catholics of Ireland comprised in the articles " of Limerick and Galway, to offer some reasons, which " he and the rest of the petitioners judged very material, " against passing the bill, entitled *An act to prevent the* " *further growth of Popery;* that, by leave of the house, " he had taken a copy of the said bill, (which he had " there in his hand,) and, with submission, looked upon " it to tend to the destroying of the said articles, granted " upon the most valuable considerations of surrendering " the said garrisons, at a time when they had the sword " in their hands; and, for any thing that appeared to the " contrary, might have been in a condition to hold out " much longer, and when it was in their power to de- " mand, and make for themselves, such terms as might " be for their then future liberty, safety, and security; " and that, too, when the allowing such terms were " highly advantageous to the government to which they " submitted; as well for uniting the people that were " then divided, quieting and settling the distractions and " disorders of this then miserable kingdom, as for the " other advantages the government would thereby reap " in its own affairs, both at home and abroad; when its " enemies were so powerful, both by sea and land, as to " give doubt of interruption to its peace and settle- " ment.'

" That, by such their power, those of Limerick did, " for themselves, and others comprised, obtain and " make such articles, as by which all the Irish inhabit- " ants in the city and county of Limerick, and in the " counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo, had " full and free pardon of and for all attainders, outlaw- " ries, treasons, misprision of treasons, felonies, tres- " passes, and other crimes whatever, which at any time " from the beginning of King James II, to the 3d of " October, 1691, had been acted, committed, or done " by them, or any of them; and by which they and " their heirs were to be forthwith put in possession of,

" and forever possess and enjoy, all and every of their " freeholds and inheritance; and all their rights, titles, " and interests, privileges and immunities, which they " and every of them held and enjoyed, and by the laws " in force were entitled unto, in the reign of King " Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and " statutes that were in force in that reign, &c.; and " thereupon read so much of the second article of Lim- " erick, as tended to that purpose.

" That, in the reign of King Charles II., the petitioners, " and all that were entitled to the benefit of those articles, " were in such full and free possession of their estates, " and had the same power to sell, or otherwise to dis- " pose, or convey them, or any other thing they enjoyed; " and were as rightfully entitled to all the privileges, im- " munities, and other advantages whatever, according " to the laws then in force, as any other subjects what- " soever, and which, therefore, without the highest in- " justice, could not be taken from them, unless they had " forfeited them themselves.

" That if they had made any such forfeiture, it was " either before or after the making of the said articles: " if before, they had a full and free pardon for that " by the said articles, &c., and, therefore, are not ac- " countable by any law now in force for the same, and " for that reason not now to be charged with it; and " since they cannot be charged with any general forfeit- " ure of those articles since, they at the same time re- " mained as absolutely entitled to all the privileges, ad- " vantages, and benefits of the laws, both already made " and hereafter to be made, as any other of her majesty's " subjects whatsoever.

" That among all societies there were some ill peo- " ple; but that, by the 10th article of Limerick, the whole " community is not to be charged with, nor forfeit by, the " crimes of particular persons.

" That there were already wholesome laws in force " sufficient, and if not, such as were wanting might be " made, to punish every offender according to the nature " of the crime: and in the name of God let the guilty

" suffer for their own faults; but the innocent ought not " to suffer for the guilty, nor the whole for any particu- " lar. That surely they would not now (they had " tamely got the sword out of their hands) rob them of " what was in their power to have kept; for that would " be unjust, and not according to that golden rule, to do " as they would be done by, was the case reversed, and " the contrary side their own.

" That the said articles were first granted them by the " general of the English army, upon the most important " consideration of getting the city of Limerick into his " hands, (when it was in a condition to have held out " till it might have been relieved by the succors then com- " ing to it from France,) and for preventing the further " effusion of blood, and the other ill consequences which " (by reason of the then divisions and disorders) the " nation then labored under; and for reducing those in " arms against the English government to its obedience.

" That the said articles were signed and perfected by " the said general, and the then lords justices of this " kingdom; and afterwards ratified by their late majes- " ties, for themselves, their heirs, and successors; and " have been since confirmed by an act of Parliament in " this kingdom, viz., stat. 9 Guil. 3, ses. 4, cap. 27, " (which he there produced and pleaded,) and said could " not be avoided without breaking the said articles, and " the public faith thereby plighted to all those comprised " under the said articles, in the most solemn and enga- " ging manner it is possible for any people to lay them- " selves under, and than which nothing could be more " sacred and binding. That, therefore, to violate, or " break those articles, would, on the contrary, be the " greatest injustice possible for any one people of the " whole world to inflict upon another, and which is con- " trary to both the laws of God and man.

" That, pursuant to these articles, all those Irish then " in arms against the government did submit thereunto, " and surrendered the said city of Limerick, and all " other garrisons then remaining in their possession; " and did take such oaths of fidelity to the king and

" queen, &c., as by the said articles they were obliged " to, and were put into possession of their estates, &c.

" That such their submissions was upon such terms " as ought now, and at all times, to be made good to " them; but that if the bill then before the house, enti- " tled An act to prevent the further growth of Popery, " should pass into a law, (which, said he, God forbid!) " it would be not only a violation of those articles, but " also a manifest breach of the public faith, of which " the English had always been most tender in many in- " stances, some of which he there quoted; and that, in " particular, in the preamble of the act before mentioned, " made for confirmation of these articles, wherein there " is a particular regard and respect had to the public " faith.

" That since the said articles were thus under the " most solemn ties, and for such valuable considerations " granted the petitioners, by nothing less than the gen- " eral of the army, the lords justices of the kingdom, the " king, queen, and Parliament, the public faith of the " nation was therein concerned, obliged, bound, and " engaged, as fully and firmly as was possible for one " people to pledge faith to another; that, therefore, this " Parliament could not pass such a bill as that entitled " An act to prevent the further growth of Popery, then " before the house, into a law, without infringing those " articles, and a manifest breach of the public faith; of " which he hoped that house would be no less regardful " and tender than their predecessors, who made the act " for confirming those articles, had been.

" That the case of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1) was " a fearful example of breaking of public faith, which, " above one hundred years after, brought nothing less " than a three years' famine upon the land, and stayed " not till the lives of all Saul's family atoned for it.

" That even among the heathens, and most barbarous " of nations all the world over, the public faith had al- " ways been held most sacred and binding; that surely it " would find no less a regard in that august assembly.

" That, if he proved that the passing that act was such

" a manifest breach of those articles, and, consequently, " of the public faith, he hoped that honorable house " would be very tender how they passed the said bill be- " fore them into a law, to the apparent prejudice of the " petitioners, and the hazard of bringing upon them- " selves and posterity such evils, reproach, and infamy, " as the doing the like had brought upon other nations " and people.

" Now, that the passing such a bill as that then before " the house, to prevent *the further growth of Popery* will " be a breach of those articles, and, consequently, of the " public faith, I prove (said he) by the following argu- ment."

Upon all these propositions the great orator was full and cogent, but especially upon the clause which held out to the sons of Catholics the estates of their fathers, as a reward for apostasy.

" By the first of these clauses, (which is the third of the " bill,) I, that am the Popish father, without committing " any crime against the state, or the laws of the land, " (by which only I ought to be governed,) or any other " fault, but merely for being of the religion of my fore- " fathers, and that which, till of late years, was the " ancient religion of these kingdoms, contrary to the " express words of the second article of Limerick, and " the public faith plighted as aforesaid for their perform- " ance, am deprived of my inheritance, freehold, &c., " and of all other advantages, which, by those arti- " cles, and the laws of the land, I am entitled to en- " joy, equally with every other of my fellow-subjects, " whether Protestant or Popish. And though such my " estate be even the purchase of my own hard labor and " industry, yet I shall not (though my occasions be never so pressing) have liberty (after my eldest son or " other heir becomes a Protestant) to sell, mortgage, or " otherwise dispose of, or charge it for payment of my " debts; or have leave, out of my own estate, to order " portions for my other children; or leave a legacy, " though never so small, to my poor father or mother, or " other poor relations; but during my own life, my estate

" shall be given to my son or other heir, being a Protes-
" tant, though never so undutiful, profligate, extravagant,
" or otherwise undeserving; and I, that am the purchas-
" ing father, shall become tenant, for life only, to my own
" purchase, inheritance, and freehold, which I purchased
" with my own money; and such my son or other heir,
" by this act, shall be at liberty to sell or otherwise at
" pleasure to dispose of my estate, the sweat of my
" brows, before my face; and I, that am the purchaser,
" shall not have liberty to raise one farthing upon the
" estate of my own purchase, either to pay my debts or
" portion my daughters, (if any I have,) or make pro-
" visions for my other male children, though never so
" deserving and dutiful: but my estate, and the issues
" and profits of it, shall, before my face, be at the dis-
" posal of another, who cannot possibly know how to
" distinguish between the dutiful and undutiful, de-
" serving or undeserving. Is not this, gentlemen, (said
" he,) a hard case? I beseech you, gentlemen, to con-
" sider, whether you would not think so, if the scale
" was changed, and the case your own, as it is like to be
" ours, if this bill pass into a law.

" It is natural for the father to love the child; but we
" all know (says he) that children are but too apt and
" subject, without any such liberty as this bill gives, to
" slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and
" surely such an act as this will not be an instrument of
" restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

" It is but too common with the son, who has a pros-
" pect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of
" one and twenty, to think the old father too long in the
" way between him and it; and how much more will he
" be subject to it, when, by this act, he shall have lib-
" erty, before he comes to that age, to compel and force
" my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being
" liable to account with me for it, or out of his share
" thereof, to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other en-
" cumbrances, with which the estate might have been
" charged before the passing this act!

" Is not this against the laws of God and man?

" against the rules of reason and justice, by which all " men ought to be governed? Is not this the only way " in the world to make children become undutiful? and " to bring the gray head of the parent to the grave with " grief and tears?

" It would be hard from any man; but from a son, a " child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nursed in my " bosom, and tendered more dearly than my own life, to " become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut " my throat, and to take away my bread, is much more " grievous than from any other, and enough to make " the most flinty of hearts to bleed to think on it. And " yet this will be the case if this bill pass into a law; " which I hope this honorable assembly will not think " of, when they shall more seriously consider, and have " weighed these matters.

" For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider " whether this is according to the golden rule, to do " as you would be done unto? And if not, surely you " will not, nay, you cannot, without being liable to be " charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, " take from us our birthrights, and invest them in others " before our faces."

Further, he arraigned the bill, as contrary to all the laws of nations, in this close logical style.

" Surely, gentlemen, this is such a law as was never " heard of before, and against the law of right, and the " law of nations; and therefore a law which is not in the " power of mankind to make, without breaking through " the laws which our wise ancestors prudently provided " for the security of posterity, and which you cannot " infringe without hazarding the undermining the whole " legislature, and encroaching upon the privileges of " your neighboring nations, which it is not reasonable to " believe they will allow.

" It has indeed been known that there have been " laws made in England that have been binding in Ire- " land; but surely it never was known that any law " made in Ireland could affect England or any other " country. But, by this act, a person committing matri-

" mony (an ordinance of the Almighty) in England, or " any other part beyond the seas, (where it is lawful " both by the laws of God and man so to do,) if ever " they come to live in Ireland, and have an inheritance " or title to any interest to the value of £500, they shall " be punished for a fact consonant with the laws of the " land where it was committed. But, gentlemen, by " your favor, this is what, with submission, is not in " your power to do; for no law that either now is, or " that hereafter shall be in force in this kingdom, shall " be able to take cognizance of any fact committed in " another nation; nor can any one nation make laws for " any other nation, but what is subordinate to it, as Ire- " land is to England; but no other nation is subordinate " to Ireland, and therefore any laws made in Ireland " cannot punish me for any fact committed in any other " nation, but more especially England, to whom Ire- " land is subordinate. And the reason is, every free " nation, such as all our neighboring nations are, by the " great law of nature, and the universal privileges of all " nations, have an undoubted right to make, and be " ruled and governed by laws of their own making; " for that to submit to any other would be to give away " their own birthright and native freedom, and become " subordinate to their neighbors, as we of this kingdom, " since the making of Poynings's act, have been and are " to England — a right which England would never so " much as endure to hear of, much less to submit to.

" We see how careful our forefathers have been to " provide that no man shall be punished in one county " (even of the same nation) for crimes committed in " another county; and surely it would be highly unrea- " sonable, and contrary to the laws of all nations in the " whole world, to punish me in this kingdom for a fact " committed in England, or any other nation, which was " not against, but consistent with, the laws of the nation " where it was committed. I am sure there is not " any law in any other nation of the world that would " do it."

In conclusion, Sir Toby contended, —

"The ninth clause of this act is another manifest "breach of the articles of Limerick; for, by the ninth "of those articles, no oath is to be administered to, nor "imposed upon, such Roman Catholics as should sub- "mit to the government, but the oath of allegiance, "appointed by an act of Parliament made in England, "in the first year of the reign of their late majesties, King "William and Queen Mary, (which is the same with "the first of those appointed by the tenth clause of this "act;) but by this clause, none shall have the benefit of "this act that shall not conform to the church of Ire- "land, subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe "the oath of abjuration, appointed by the ninth clause "of this act; and therefore this act is a manifest breach "of those articles, &c., and a force upon all the Roman "Catholics therein comprised, either to abjure their reli- "gion, or part with their birthrights; which, by those "articles, they were, and are, as fully and as rightfully en- "titled to as any other subjects whatever.

"The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and four- "teenth clauses of this bill (said he) relate to offices "and employments which the Papists of Ireland cannot "hope for the enjoyment of, otherwise than by grace "and favor extraordinary; and therefore do not so much "affect them as it does the Protestant dissenters, who "(if this bill pass into a law) are equally with the "Papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, "under the government, to which by right of birth, and "the laws of the land, they are as indisputably entitled as "any other their Protestant brethren. And if what the "Irish did in the late disorders of this kingdom made "them rebels, (which the presence of a king they had "before been obliged to own, and swear obedience to, "gave them a reasonable color of concluding it did not,) "yet surely the dissenters did not do any thing to "make them so, or to deserve worse at the hands of "the government than other Protestants; but, on the "contrary, it is more than probable that if they (I mean "the dissenters) had not put a stop to the career of the "Irish army at Enniskillen and Londonderry, the settle-

" ment of the government, both in England and Scot-
" land, might not have proved so easy as it thereby did;
" for if that army had got to Scotland, (as there was
" nothing at that time to have hindered them but the
" bravery of those people, who were mostly dissenters,
" and chargeable with no other crime since; unless their
" close adhering to and early appearing for the then
" government, and the many faithful services they did
" their country, were crimes,) I say, (said he,) if they had
" got to Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all
" things else ready for their transportation, and a great
" many friends there in arms, waiting only their coming
" to join them, — it is easy to think what the consequence
" would have been to both these kingdoms; and these
" dissenters then were thought fit for command, both
" civil and military, and were no less instrumental in
" contributing to the reducing the kingdom than any
" other Protestants; and to pass a bill now, to deprive
" them of their birthrights, (for those their good ser-
" vices,) would surely be a most unkind return, and the
" worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving.
" Whatever the Papists may be supposed to have de-
" served, the dissenters certainly stand as clean in the
" face of the present government as any other people
" whatsoever; and if this is all the return they are like
" to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if
" ever occasion should require, for others to pursue
" their examples.

" By the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth clauses
" of this bill, all Papists, after the 24th of March, 1703,
" are prohibited from purchasing any houses or tene-
" ments, or coming to dwell in any, in Limerick or Gal-
" way, or the suburbs of either, and even such as were
" under the articles, and by virtue thereof have ever
" since lived there, from staying there, without giving
" such security as neither those articles, nor any law
" heretofore in force, do require; except seamen, fisher-
" men, and day laborers, who pay not above forty shil-
" lings a year rent; and from voting for the election of
" members of Parliament, unless they take the oath of

"abjuration; which to oblige them to is contrary to "the ninth of Limerick articles; which, as aforesaid, "says the oath of allegiance, and no other, shall be im- "posed upon them; and, unless they abjure their religion, "takes away their advowsons and right of presentation, "contrary to the privilege of right, the law of nations, and "the great charter of Magna Charta; which provides, "that no man shall be disseized of his birthright, without "committing some crime against the known laws of the "land in which he is born, or inhabits. And if there "was no law in force, in the reign of King Charles "II., against these things, (as there certainly was not,) "and if the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have not "since forfeited their right to the laws that then were "in force, (as for certain they have not,) then, with hum- "ble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters "contained in this bill, entitled *An act to prevent the fur- "ther growth of Popery*, are directly against the plain "words and true intent and meaning of the said articles, "and a violation of the public faith, and the laws made "for their performance; and what I therefore hope (said "he) this honorable house will consider accordingly."

Counsellor Malone was also heard, and Sir Stephen Rice, as a party interested, offered some remarks. But their arguments were fruitless. The bill was engrossed and sent to the Lords, where, on the 28th of February, Sir Toby and Malone were again heard against it. It was, however, passed, under the protest of a respectable minority, and, on the 4th of March, it received the royal assent of the queen.*

---

* Parnell's Penal Laws. Appendix.

Sir Toby Butler's convivial habits caused the introduction of his name into that famous old song, "The Cruiskeen Lawn." It is there recorded, that, —

"At court, with manly grace,
When Sir Toby pleads his case,
Until the veil of doubt is withdrawn —
Without his cheerful glass
He's as stupid as an ass:
So, gentlemen, a cruiskeen lawn!"

Many pleasant tales of Sir Toby have been preserved in Irish society, among them the following: —

It was only at the bar the Irish Catholics could look for defenders, now that their soldiers were far away. In the following reign, an act was passed excluding Catholics from the profession of the law — an act which was not repealed until 1793. Whatever Catholic leadership there was during the interval was thus thrown among

---

"An action for the recovery of debt was brought by the Archbishop of Cashel against Mr. Flegoe, who employed Sir Toby Butler as his leading counsel. On the request of Sir Toby a brief was given to a young lawyer of good Irish family, named O'Callaghan. This gentleman, on the trial, raised an ingenious point of law, which saved the estate to his client. On the following morning, the two barristers breakfasted with Mr. Flegoe, when Sir Toby declared his wish to hold some important conversation with that gentleman in the presence of O'Callaghan. Having retired, the following extraordinary conversation ensued: —

"'Mr. Flegoe, I intend to confer a great favor on your family. Here is my friend, who saved a good estate for you. He is a bachelor; you have a daughter, whom you cannot bestow more honorably than by marrying this young man. Do you see?'

"To which Mr. Flegoe replied, 'Undoubtedly, Sir Toby, the alliance is highly honorable, and I have great obligations to Mr. O'Callaghan. At the same time, Sir Toby Butler will think it but reasonable that a father who has an only daughter, with a large fortune, should inquire the pretensions of the suiter in a pecuniary point of view.'

"Whereupon Sir Toby seized hold of O'Callaghan's chin, saying, 'Now, Corney, hold your tongue! I tell you, Flegoe, this fellow's tongue entitles him to any girl in Ireland.'

"O'Callaghan continued to distinguish himself at the bar; Flegoe gave him his daughter; and such was the foundation of the wealth of his great nephew, Lord Lismore."

In connection with the ill-fated Father Sheehy, we will hear again of Mr. O'Callaghan.

Some anecdote-hunters have conjectured that he was the original "Toby Philpot;" but this is very doubtful. His social habits never were allowed to interfere with his public duties. An anecdote of his decided character at the bar — one which only could become current of a master in his profession — is thus told: "Engaged in a case where the counsel opposed to him seemed to carry both the feelings and opinions of the jury, he stood up and said, 'Gentlemen of the jury: The cause of our antagonist, though plausible, is bad, if there be truth in the old saying, that "good wine needs no bush, or a good cause no bribery." Here, gentlemen of the jury, is what was put into my hand this morning, (holding out a purse of gold;) it was given in the hope that it would have bribed me into a lukewarm advocacy of my client's cause. But here I throw down Achan's weight — here I cast at your feet the accursed thing.' And so he went on most ably to state his case and defend his cause." — *Dublin Penny Journal for* 1832–33.

Sir Toby was buried in St. James's Churchyard, Dublin, where his fine monument still stands.

the traders and the timid remnant of the Catholic gentry. After Sir Toby Butler, there is a blank of lawyers — a fact which partly accounts for the prevalence of illegal agrarian societies, from about 1760, until the end of the century. Deprived of legal advisers, the goaded peasantry had recourse, naturally enough, to other and less judicious means of defence.*

The Irish legislature, the willing instrument of Anne's persecution, had not even that poor excuse of zeal for the honor of the crown which was pleaded as a preamble to the old acts of allegiance, confiscation, and conformity. With a few honorable exceptions, its members were willing to sacrifice not only the Catholics, but the commerce of the whole country, to propitiate their English Protestant brethren. The question of the independence of their own body could not induce them to bear up manfully under the weakening sense of patronage. William Molyneaux, one of the members for Trinity College, tried in vain to inspire them with a share of his patriotic courage. His Case of Ireland will long remain a monument of his civic courage, in a dumb and degenerate age; and though his days were few in life, the days of his memory have been many.

Under a servile Parliament and brutal sovereign, the material interests of the kingdom rapidly declined. During Charles II.'s reign, a large balance had been left, in favor of the country, on the total of imports and exports. But now the balance ran all the other way. In 1695,† the deficit was ninety-five thousand nine hundred

* Counsellor Malone, who acted with Butler in 1704, was the father of the Irish judge Edmund Malone, and of the Irish chancellor Anthony Malone, of whom Lord Sackville said that "Pitt, Mansfield, and Malone" were the three greatest orators he had ever heard. Gratton and others, well qualified to judge, speak of him with equal admiration. These distinguished men, alas! purchased eminence at the awful price of apostasy.

Edmund Malone, the editor of Shakspeare, was son to the judge, and grandson to the Catholic counsellor. He was, in early life, a member of the Irish parliament, and was one of the intimates of Burke, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Reynolds, whose life he wrote. The family were an offshoot of the O'Connors.

† There are no accessible returns of "the balance of trade" in Ireland from 1681 to 1695. — Dobbs, *On Irish Trade*, p. 5. Dublin, 1739.

and thirty-two pounds, and it was not till twenty years later that the trade and revenues began to recover from the losses they sustained under King William's parliament.

Even the towns of Ulster, planted with such care by James I., and fighting with such zeal for William, felt severely his proscriptive policy. Thousands of the operatives "removed into the Protestant states of Germany;" "several Papists, at the same time, removed into the northern parts of Spain;" "other Protestants, who were embarked with the Papists, removed into France, and settled in Rouen and other parts." An eminent English statesman has set down this emigration of Irish operatives at one hundred thousand men!*

While these fugitives were seeking homes through Europe, Huguenot refugees were settling in Spitalfields and Dublin, under the patronage of the illiberal Parliament. Raised into independence by the very men who proscribed native industry, they invariably refused to take Roman Catholic apprentices into their several trades.† These were the first fruits of a revolution which faction celebrated as a deliverance from Popery, prelacy, brass money, and wooden shoes.‡

The 2d of Anne, cap. 6, gave rise to an infamous class of men, called "priest-hunters," who set themselves to track and insnare the disguised clergymen who found their way every spring from the colleges of the continent into the ports and creeks of Ireland. Priest-hunting became a regular trade. Volunteers of better circum-

---

* Dobbs on Irish Trade, p. 6. Earl Fitzwilliam's Calculation. Letter to the Dublin Evening Post, 1846.

† Among other charges to be laid by Ireland against her Protestant kings is the most grievous one of corrupting the currency. Simon says of Henry VIII., "The money coined for Ireland in this reign was little better than brass." "In the reign of James I., a proclamation was issued, ordering the base money coined in the reign of Elizabeth to pass at one fourth its former value. The well-known patent to William Wood, for coining base money, in Dublin, which led to Swift's 'Drapier's Letters,' will readily occur to the Irish reader's memory." — Simon, *Essay on Irish Coins*.

‡ Otway's Handloom Weavers' Report, 1839.

stances, from the mere wantonness of malice, sometimes joined in the pursuit, which set the same price

"Upon the head of wolf and friar."

In the 8th of Anne, the tariff of blood was fixed by law — for an archbishop, bishop, or other superior, fifty pounds; for other ecclesiastics, twenty pounds per head.

One of the most infamous "informers," under this system, was a Portuguese Jew, named Garcia, settled at Dublin. He was very skilful at disguises. "He sometimes put on the mien of a priest, for he affected to be one, and thus worming himself into the good graces of some confiding Catholic, got a clew to the whereabouts of the clergy."* In 1718, Garcia succeeded in arresting seven unregistered priests, for whose detection he had a sum equal to two or three thousand dollars of American money. To such a revolting excess was this profession carried, that a reaction set in, and a Catholic bishop of Ossory, who lived at the time these acts were still in force, records that "the priest-catchers' occupation became exceedingly odious both to Protestants and Catholics," and that himself had seen "ruffians of this calling assailed with a shower of stones, flung by both Catholics and Protestants."† But this change was in the second George's reign.

Proceeding from excess to excess, a proposal was actually made, and, in the shape of a bill, transmitted into England, by the viceroy, Lord Wharton, to authorize the castration of every priest found in the island.‡ The British privy council threw out the vile proposal, and, perhaps, from that last effort of almost extinct humanity we may trace the first glimmering of a reaction against the whole system.

The external condition of the Irish church was, truly, deplorable enough. In 1704, under the registry act, the

* Meehan's Vita Kerovani, Appendix, p. 196. "I myself have known many priests thus taken, who, having been long detained prisoners, were subsequently transported beyond seas." — De Burgo, *Hibernia Dominican.* pp. 157 and 158.

† Hib. Dom.

‡ Curry's Civil Wars. Plowden's Ireland.

total of the clergy was found to be eighteen hundred. Of these, a great part, perhaps the majority, were old and inactive. One hundred and sixteen of them had been ordained by the martyred Archbishop Plunkett, nearly forty years previously, and a number of others by that bishop's contemporaries. The perils of the order were greatly increased, by the passage, in 1708, of an act obliging all "registered priests to take the oath of abjuration before the 25th of March, 1710." This oath, denying transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and declaring the mass idolatrous, no priest could take. Here, of course, was a new field for the informers. To make their cruel trade respectable, the precious Parliament, which cut out their work, resolved, "that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service, and that all magistrates who neglected to execute these laws were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom."* Hard and desperate times those for all "Jesuits and seminary priests," who feared God more than death or transportation.†

At this time, the wisdom of Providence had placed in the see of Armagh a most prudent and able man, Dr. Hugh McMahon. Born in 1660, educated at Louvain, he could remember the martyrdom of at least two of his predecessors. Nothing dismayed, he assumed, in 1708, their perilous place, and in the midst of its many duties, which he openly or secretly continued to discharge, he found leisure for the preparation of a very valuable work, on the primacy and history of the church of Armagh. He lived to rejoice in the first faint symptoms of toleration, and to see the episcopal body gradually filling up around him.‡

---

* Irish Commons Journal, vol. iii. p. 319.

† "There was not left," says Dr. Burke, in his History of the Irish Dominicans, "a single house of that order, which was not suppressed." — Hib. Dom. p. 155.

‡ The following striking story is told of Primate McMahon: "The Irish witnesses soon squandered the money which they had received for proving the plot and swearing away the primate's life. For a time they managed to support themselves by swearing against Shaftesbury and their old employers. But even this failed them, and they were quickly brought

As under the Stuarts so in this reign and the next, the faithful laity suffered proportionably to the clergy. The few members of the Catholic gentry still left with any vestige of property were obliged to resort to their own unused energies. One of the chief of these was O'Conor, of Roscommon, the lineal descendant of Roderick, the last of the Celtic kings. Holding the plough with his own hands, he would exhort his sons against pride, telling them to remember that, though he "was the son of a gentleman, they were the sons of a ploughman." The heir of this excellent man fortunately lived to occupy another position, in after times, towards his countrymen.

The Catholic townsmen, who followed any trade or craft, felt quite as bitterly the results of the proscription. In the writings of Swift, from which a perfect picture of Irish society in his time might be drawn, we find them reported to be "altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children." "The common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined." In one or two other passages of his writings we find enough to satisfy us that Swift was fairly disposed towards his Catholic countrymen, but

---

to a state of the most wretched destitution. Florence McMoyer was so far reduced that he was obliged to pawn, for five pounds, the celebrated 'Book of Armagh,' which thus passed out of his family, where it had remained for many centuries. Nor was this the worst evil against which these miserable beings had to contend; for they were now universally abhorred and detested even by their former abetters, and lived in daily terror of being punished, perhaps hanged, for their perjuries. They had now no friends, for they had been equally faithless and false to all parties. They were, moreover, tormented by the hell of a guilty conscience, for the crime of murder was upon their souls. One of those miscreants, Duffy, old, emaciated, abhorred, exiled from his church, and tortured with remorse, visited a successor of Dr. Plunkett, (Dr. McMahon,) and as he approached him, exclaimed in an agony of soul, 'Am I never to have peace? Is there no mercy for me?' The prelate heard him in silence, then opened a glass case, and in a deep and solemn voice said, 'Look here, thou unfortunate wretch!' The head of his murdered primate was before him; he saw, knew it, and swooned away." This miserable man was reconciled to the church, and died penitent.

they were seemingly so powerless, that he had no prospect of doing good by undertaking their cause. He consequently alludes to them, but cautiously and incidentally.* We can conceive something of their situation in towns and cities from two petitions sent into the Irish Parliament in Anne's reign. One, from "the Protestant coal porters of Dublin," complained that Darby Ryan, "a captain under the late King James, and a Papist notoriously disaffected, bought up whole cargoes of coal, and employed those of his own persuasion and affection to carry the same to customers." Another petition was from the hackney coachmen, praying "that it might be enacted that none but Protestant hackney coachmen might have liberty to keep or drive hackney coaches."† How these "prayers" must have edified the Dean of St. Patrick's!

So low had the once high spirit of that people fallen, that these indignities were patiently born by the majority. All of spirit, who could do so, exiled themselves. Others, unable to emigrate, and unable to control their indignation, suffered severely for occasional exhibitions of manly spirit. The meanest Protestant regarded himself as far above the noblest Catholic. The former were known by their audacity and assurance of manner, while, in 1730, a shrewd observer declares that a Catholic might be told by his stooped carriage and subdued manner.‡ We hear, without surprise, therefore, that the Irish abroad are a good deal disgusted with their brethren at home; that when, in 1715, "the old pretender" (James III.) makes a desperate effort to regain the triple crown of the islands, no help for him issues out of Ireland. He has Irishmen in his army, of course, but they come from the continent, not from "home." They do their devoir bravely, according to the custom of their country, at Killiecrankie, and some of them lie long in prison

* In Reasons for repealing the Test in Favor of Roman Catholics, in Dublin Cries, and his Correspondence.

† Quoted in Captain Rock, p. 124.

‡ Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor, vol i. p. 179.

after the battle of Preston. Conspicuous among them is Sir Charles Wogan,* descended of that dashing Cavalier who cut his way through Puritan England, in Cromwell's days, and, with his stout two hundred horse, joined the friends of King Charles in the Scottish Highlands.

Perhaps the indifference of the Irish at home to the Stuart cause, in 1715, helped them; in 1745, it certainly did. Though additional penal laws continued to be passed till the middle of the century, it is certain that the actual persecution somewhat abated after the accession of the present dynasty.

Shall we venture to describe the effects of these penal laws of Queen Anne? The most eloquent Catholic of this century declared that language failed him in the attempt, and, in the poverty of language, he borrowed Edmund Burke's striking description: "It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

---

* Sir Charles was a worthy descendant of that famous Cavalier mentioned in the text. He won his knightly rank from the hands of the pope, by rescuing, alone and unhelped, the Princess Sobieskiy, betrothed to "the old pretender," from the fortress of Innspruck, in the Tyrol, and conveying her safe to Rome. After his English imprisonment, he had command of a regiment in Spain, from which he sent Swift a present of pure wine, accompanied by a Latin poem, and one of the noblest pieces of English prose in the language. In this letter, Wogam says of his fellow refugees, "They have shown a great deal of gallantry in the defence of foreign states and princes, with very little advantage to themselves but that of being free, and without half the outward marks of distinction they deserved. These southern governments are very slow in advancing foreigners to considerable or gainful perferments." — "Roscoe's *Edition of Swift's Works*, vol. ii. p. 667." The entire letter is worthy of repeated readings.

CHAPTER V.

IRISH CATHOLICS ABROAD.—IRISH COLLEGES AT LOUVAIN, PARIS, ROME, LISBON, &c.—IRISH SOLDIERS IN FOREIGN SERVICE.—THE IRISH BRIGADE IN FRANCE.—HOW THEIR REPUTATION REACTED ON ENGLAND.

In this desperate struggle for the maintenance of religion in Ireland, she had numerous auxiliaries in the colleges founded for the education of her students on the continent. Of these and their founders some account is called for.

The native Irish schools had never fully recovered from the effects of the Danish wars. The revival of Irish education by St. Malachy was extinguished under the Norman invasion, and the greater foreign institutions founded at Paris, Salamanca, and Rome became the favorite resorts of Irish scholars during the middle ages. When England adopted a new faith, and her rulers began to wage their deadly warfare against Catholic education, what had been before the choice of the islanders became then their necessity.

From its situation and renown, the University of Louvain, founded by John, Duke of Brabant, in 1425, was much frequented by the Irish, even in the sixteenth century. Peter Lombard, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, (King James's special friend,) and O'Hurley, the martyred Archbishop of Cashel, graduated there, with high honor. In conjunction with this university, Florence Conroy, Archbishop of Tuam, ("who, for various reasons, would not be safe among the English," says his friend O'Sullivan,) founded the Irish College of St. Anthony, A. D. 1617. The funds for this purpose were generously supplied by the viceroys, Albert and Isabella, then governing at Brussels. Dr. Conroy caused an Irish press to be erected, from which, for more than a century, the greater part of the catechisms and manuals used in Ireland were secretly obtained. Here the learned founder prepared his Commentaries on St. Augustin, and here Ward,

Colgan, and O'Clery prepared their Acts of the Irish Saints, and arranged the Annals of the Four Masters. Conroy died in 1629. A tablet, still legible, commemorates his name amid the ruins of St. Anthony's College.

In 1624, Matthew, Archbishop of Dublin, aided by Pope Urban VIII., founded, also, in conjunction with this university, the Collegium Pastorale Hibernorum, for seculars only. Dr. Nicholas Aylmer was the first president. With its after history are associated the honorable names of Stapleton, French, Arsdekin, and Peter Walsh, all eminent scholars and constant Catholics.

In 1659, Dr. Gregory, and two brothers named Joyce, founded the Irish Dominican college at Louvain, under the invocation of St. Thomas of Aquin. The fathers O'Sullivan, O'Daly, and Burke are among the first doctors of this school.

Like all other institutions in the Netherlands — that common battle field of Europe — these Irish colleges underwent various vicissitudes. When, in 1633, the Dutch, with sixty thousand men, besieged Louvain, the Irish students shared in all the dangers of the defence. They formed a regiment of their own number, and under Preston, the confederate, "distinguished themselves for deeds of valor and renown." In that stirring siege, cassock and shako were strangely blended; the Jesuits formed a corps of pioneers, and constructed or attacked works with all the coolness of veterans; the Walloon regiments acted with proverbial courage, and Louvain was saved from its powerful assailants.

As an evidence of how Irish piety, even in the worst of times, devoted itself to the service of God, we give an abstract of the endowments received by the Irish Pastoral College, during the two centuries of its existence: —

"Matthew, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1624 founded a "bourse of 2000 florins, which produced a yearly reve- "nue of 48 florins, for natives of his diocese, being stu- "dents in theology and philosophy; the collation was "in the Archbishop of Dublin; Edward Purcell was in "the enjoyment of this from 1784 up to the time of the

" visitation. The archbishop founded a second bourse " of 2871 florins, the same year, producing about 100 " florins yearly for his next of kin in the first instance, " and secondly for natives of the diocese of Clogher. " Charles McKenna held this since 1780. The presen- " tation was in the gift of the Bishop of Clogher.

" James Normel, in 1653, granted 993 florins for stu- " dents in philosophy, theology, humanity, law, and med- " icine. The visitors and president of the college had " the presentation; and the grant was to be held by the " founders next of kin in the first instance, and then a " preference, in the following order, was to be given to " natives of Clonmel, Lismore, Munster, and Ireland. " Edward Cantillon enjoyed this since 1784.

" Hugh Mauricy, in 1680, granted 2373 florins for stu- ' dents in the same departments as the last, and in the ' gift of the same persons; to be enjoyed by his next of " kin in the first instance, and then, in default, by natives " of Galway, Connaught, Ireland, and lastly, Buygenhout, " in Flanders. Patrick Rouland enjoyed this since 1784.

" Roger Nottingham, in 1692, granted 1000 florins for " the same studies as last, excepting humanity and law; " and this was also in the gift of the same persons, with " the Archbishop of Dublin, to be enjoyed by his next " of kin to the fourth degree; then by natives of Dublin, " Leinster, and the parish of St. Nicholas at Ghent. " Charles Finn held this since 1783.

" Matthew Theige, in 1652, gave 5702 florins for stu- " dents in philosophy and theology, to be presented by " the visitors and president, to be held by the kindred of " the founder, then by natives of Limerick, or, in default, " by natives of Ireland. Held by Patrick Cleary and " Edward Cantillon since 1780 and 1784.

" Nicholas French, in 1683, granted 600 florins for stu- " dents in rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. The pres- " entation was in the Bishop of Ferns and the president " of the college; his next of kin had the preference, then " natives of the diocese of Ferns, and, in default, natives " of Ireland. E. Ennis enjoyed it since 1781.

" Thomas Hurley, in 1697, granted 3200 florins for

" students in philosophy, theology, humanity, law, and " medicine. The presentation was in the president and " visitors of the college, to be held first by his next of " kin, then natives of Limerick, Tipperary, Munster, and " in default, the natives of Ireland. Held by Thomas " Hurley since 1783.

" Arnold Conolly, in 1715, granted 2383 florins for " students in philosophy and theology, the presentation " being in the president of the college, and to be held " first by the next of kin of the founder, and then by na- " tives of the diocese of Clogher, held by Charles Mc- " Kenna since 1780.

" Paul Roche, P. P. of Wexford, as the executor of " his uncle, David Roche, P. P. of Forth, in 1727, granted " 6008 florins for students in humanity, philosophy, the- " ology, and the arts, to be enjoyed by his next of kin, " to the third degree, and then in order, by natives of " the barony of Forth, Wexford, and diocese of Ferns. " The presentation was in the president of the college, " and P. P. of Wexford, provided he was a native of " Wexford; and in case he was not, then, in his place, " the oldest curate in the barony of Forth, with two cit- " izens of Wexford. Charles O'Brien and Matthew " Cood held this since 1783.

" Raymond Magrath, M. D., *in exercitu cæsari suæ* " *majestatis*, in 1780, granted 9402 florins for students in " humanity, philosophy, theology, and medicine, to be " enjoyed by the next of kin of the founder. J. Maccabe " and H. Maccabe enjoyed this from 1775 and 1779, re- " spectively.

" Edmond Trohy, merchant of Antwerp, in 1783, " granted 4585 florins for students in humanity, and all " other studies. The visitors and president of the col- " lege were the presenters; and next of kin, and in de- " fault, natives of Tipperary were to be elected. Wil- " liam Britt enjoyed this since 1782.

" Helen Duignan, in 1770, granted 7848 florins for " students in poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, the- " ology, and public disputation. The presentation was " in the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Waterford,

"the parish priest of Clonmel, Mr. McCarthy, and the "oldest heir male of the founder. J. Dogherty and "Daniel McCarthy enjoyed this since 1777 and 1784, "respectively.

"Thomas Tyrrell, in 1771, granted 4800 florins for "students in rhetoric, philosophy, theology, and public "disputation. The presentation was to be in the next "of kin; this individual was, in 1785, G. F. Brown; "the privileged persons were the next of kin to the sixth "degree, and, in default, natives of Westmeath or Ire-"land. Patrick Clinch held this since 1783.

"Colomba Morgan, a citizen of Dublin, in 1777, "granted 7044 florins for students in philosophy and "theology; and also for two priests, natives of Dublin, "with an obligation to say one mass daily for the founder. "The presentation was in the Archbishop of Dublin. "Patrick Ryan and Edward Purcell enjoyed this since "1781.

"J. Kent, in 1781, granted 7007 florins for students in "all departments, to be held by his kindred to the fourth "degree, and then by natives of Lismore and Water-"ford. The presentation was in the Archbishop of "Waterford and the visitors and president of the col-"lege. Matthew Power enjoyed this since 1784.

"—— O'Brien, in 1769, granted 217 florins for Irish "students in philosophy and theology; and 225 florins to "an Irish priest to say mass daily in the college chapel. "The Bishop of Cloyne and president of the college "were the presenters. Patrick Ryan and Philip Daniel "McCarthy held this since 1782 and 1784, respectively.

"T. Sullivan, in 1699, granted 732 florins for Irish "students in rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, for his "relations of the second degree, provided they were born "in Ireland. The presentation was in two doctors of "theology, chosen by the rector in "strict faculty." John "Fitzgerald and M. Sullivan enjoyed this since 1780, M. "Sullivan since 1782, and Daniel Magrath since 1784.

"Florence Sullivan, in 1732, granted 1098 florins for "students in philosophy, theology, law, and medicine, a "preference to be given his kindred to the third degree,

"then to the O'Sullivans of Kerry, the McCarthys of "Kerry, or natives of Kerry, Cashel, or Ulster. The "eldest doctor in theology, the president of the college, "and the eldest visitor were the presenters.

"Independent of the above grant, the college was en- "dowed by Urban VIII., by a M. Shinkel, and by Mat- "thew Prosser, a merchant of Bruges, and native of "Waterford, with sums making altogether about 8000 "florins, besides the bequest of Thomas Stapleton, "which provided for seven students in various depart- "ments, and to which we have already alluded."

Here we find the exiled merchant's profits and the exiled soldier's stipend, the widow's mite, and the bishop's and professor's income, all devoted to the maintenance of the only schools open to the Irish race!

But Louvain was not alone "a city of refuge" to our fathers. At Paris, Thomas Fleming obtained the foundation of an Irish college, which still exists. It was endowed by the Bourbons, confiscated at the period of the revolution, but restored by Napoleon Bonaparte to the Irish church. Here King James deposited the Irish manuscript in his possession, and here, in 1730, the Abbé McGeoghehan pondered over their contents, when preparing that laborious and conscientious history of his country, worthy of being dedicated to the heroic "brigade."

In Lisle, Douay, Bourdeaux, Rouen, and St. Omer's, there were also Irish colleges. O'Connell graduated at the latter.

At Antwerp, in 1629, the Irish College of St. Patrick was founded by Dr. Seagrave, a native of Leinster. It was burned in 1680, but rebuilt by Pope Innocent XI. and the Propaganda. Seagrave was the first, and Dr. Jacob Talbot the second president.

At Salamanca and Alcala, there were either bourses or entire houses for Irish students. At Seville, there was an Irish college, of which, in 1640, Dr. Dominick Lynch, afterwards Recteur Magnifique of the University of Seville, was president.

At Coimbra, there were Irish bourses. Luke Wad-

ding, Bonaventura Baron, Primate Curtis, and Dr. Doyle were educated there. In Lisbon, Dominick O'Daly, a native of Kerry, procured the founding of an Irish college by the last Spanish viceroy, the Duchess of Mantua. After the revolution of 1640, which placed the family of Braganza on the throne of Portugal, O'Daly rose rapidly. He was successively confessor to the queen, inquisitor general, and ambassador to France. He declined the then rich Indian archbishopric of Goa, and at the time of his death (1662) was Bishop elect of Coimbra — the primatial see of Portugal. He not only founded the Lisbon College, but also a convent for Irish nuns in the same city, and a house for Irish students at Coimbra. His two works (the "Geraldines" and the "Persecutions") have been frequently quoted, in the first part of this history.

At Prague, there were Irish bourses, and we have seen mention of an "Irish college" — we are not informed as to its history. Attached to other Austrian colleges were several Irish bourses.

At Rome, one of the greatest Irishmen of his day, Father Luke Wadding, founded for Irish Franciscans the College of St. Isidore, in 1625;* in which good work he was much assisted by the noble family of Barberini. In 1628, he induced Cardinal Ludovisius, "the protector of Ireland," to found a secular Irish college, which is distinguished from the other by the name of its noble founder. Wadding was twice president. Hickey, Fleming, Walsh, and Baron, all distinguished scholars, were among the earliest professors at St. Isidore's. Wadding, who, for nearly forty years, was the voluntary ambassador of Ireland at Rome, and yet so husbanded his time as to be able to bring out the numerous works which bear his name, as editor or author, is buried in his own foundation, where his tomb is still preserved, by the fathers of St. Isidore.†

* Father Wadding was nephew to Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh. He was born at Waterford, in 1588, and died at Rome, in 1657. There is a sketch of his edifying life, in McGee's Irish Writers. Dublin, 1846.

† Wadding is the author of the great work, the Annals of the Friars

The Ludovisian Irish College was famous for the students it sent forth, throughout the seventeenth century. Oliver Plunkett was of the number. This college was administered by the order of Jesuits — those illustrious victors and martyrs of Christianity.

The effect of these active and numerous Irish institutions throughout Catholic Europe must have been considerable, not only in the cities where they stood, but on the general tone and turn of continental opinion. Every college had its concursus, its Irish celebrations, its printing press, and its atmosphere of sympathy. All literature and all statesmanship were cognizant of the fact,* and agreed upon the cause — the merciless English persecutions. Until the wars that followed the French revolution, it was impossible for England to keep or make partisans at Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, Vienna, or Paris. Her generals and diplomatists complain bitterly that the very courts they succored and served had no real respect for them or their kingdom. The fact seems to have been, that the Irish colleges, with their numerous preachers and writers, had created, in every Catholic country, a hearty detestation of the intolerance and perfidy of English governments. It is among the strange signs of our providential history that, just as the French philosophy and revolution had spread abroad, Irish colleges were suffered to be restored at home. Under this last Gothic storm, not yet appeased, the Irish in Ireland have turned earnestly to the erection of native institutions of education, which, for fifty years back, have not been openly proscribed.

The old colleges of the penal times deserve our perpetual gratitude and remembrance. Those of Rome,

---

Minors, which took him above twenty years to compile. He also wrote the Writers of the Order of Friars Minors; a Life of Anselm, Bishop of Lucca; a Life of Thomasius, Patriarch of Alexandria; a Life of John Duns Scotus, &c., &c. He was one of the theologians appointed to examine the tenets of Jansenius, at Rome, and to maintain, before the congregation, the immaculate conception. In 1645, he declined the cardinalate. "Fra Luca" is not forgotten in Italian biographies.

* Le Sage and Goldsmith both make striking use of that common character on the continent — the Irish student.

Louvain, Lisbon, Salamanca, St. Omer's, and Paris,* were particularly instrumental in keeping faith and learning alive among our race, and in sending into Ireland chiefs, counsellors, and true civilizers. They counteracted the barbarous effects of the penal code. If it had not been for them, Ireland, in all probability, would have been driven into worse than Tartar darkness and savageness.

Contemporaneous with the Irish colleges were those memorable brigades and regiments of Catholic exiles whose courage and fidelity have done so much to honor the national character. Their serving only Catholic states made Ireland an active agent in almost every action of that great contest which was the necessary consequence of the continental "reformation." From the time of Luther till the time of Robespierre, Europe divided naturally into a Protestant and a Catholic camp. Sweden, Holland, England, and Prussia are on the one side; Austria, Spain, and the Italian states on the other. France and Bavaria, from motives of position and policy, sometimes coöperated with one, sometimes with the other, and sometimes formed a third party. Protestantism, in the words of Burke, "introduced other interests into all countries than those which arose from their locality and natural circumstances." The same profound observer adds, "It would be to repeat the history of the two last centuries, to exemplify the effects of this revolution." † It does not surprise us, who regard Ireland as representing the church militant, to count the large number of men and captains she supplied to the Catholic side of the European contest between "the reformation" in the sixteenth, and "the revolution" in the eighteenth century.

After the battle of Kinsale, O'Sullivan, Beare, and those excepted from James's amnesty, entered the Span-

* The Irish colleges at Rome, Lisbon, and Paris are still devoted to their original purpose. At present, (1852,) Dr. Kirby is president at Rome, Dr. Gartland at Lisbon, and Dr. Miley at Paris. The present primate of Ireland (Dr. Cullen) was Dr. Kirby's predecessor at Rome.

† Thoughts on French Affairs, in December, 1791.

ish service, and some rose to high rank in naval and military expeditions. O'Sullivan commanded a ship in Philip II.'s expedition against the Turks, and in one engagement had a brother shot at his side. From the specimen Spain then had, her rulers became anxious to enlist more. From Ulster, after the exile of the O'Neils and O'Donnells, she obtained whole regiments, and such captains as the O'Donnells and O'Reillys; from Galway she obtained, later, many recruits, among whom certain Blakes and O'Connors rose to eminence. They served valiantly against the Dutch, the Turks, and the English, throughout that century. In Spain and South America their descendants kept the vantage ground, and did truly and valiantly.* In the last century, Spain continued to recruit in Ireland. In 1708, she embodied two Irish regiments of dragoons and three of foot. In the defence of Oran, in 1732, and the Italian campaigns of the two next years, these regiments won honor. In 1743, in the battle of Velletri, between Spain and Austria, there were Irish soldiers on both sides. Austria triumphed, but the Irish soldiers of Spain protected the retreat, and rescued the infant, Don Philip. Lacy, Lawless, O'Reilly, and Wogan, their best officers, were made grandees of Spain after these campaigns. Lawless, by the arrest of the Duke de Medini Celi, was said to have saved the monarchy. He was afterwards governor of Majorca. Lacy was sent ambassador to Petersburg, where he found a relative high in favor. This was Field Marshal Lacy, the conqueror of the Tartars and of Sweden, by whose prudent generalship Charles XII. was routed at Pultowa, in 1709.†

Another branch of this notable house gave, in the same age, two generals and aulic councillors to Austria. Austria, before and after the separation from Spain, was long partial to Irish soldiers. The Brownes, of Camas, in Limerick, exiled for their faith, gave a field marshal,

* It is hardly necessary to allude to the Generals O'Donnell, Blake, and Sarsfield, of the Peninsular war; or to O'Donju, Viceroy of Mexico, O'Higgins, Captain General of Chili, or O'Donnell, Captain General of Cuba.

† Manstein's Memoirs.

two generals, and other distinguished officers, to that empire. One of these generals was made a baron, and governor of Deva, in Transylvania; the other, married to the daughter of Field Marshal Lacy, was naturalized in Russia, and made governor of Livonia.

Field Marshal Ulysses Browne had the good fortune to beat the King of Prussia and to liberate the King of Poland. He died in 1757, much mourned by Maria Theresa. Another field marshal of the same name and family died at Vienna, in 1784.

The Carlow family of Kavanagh gave five general officers to Austria. In 1766, Charles Kavanagh was governor of Prague and count of the empire; about the same time, Charles, his cousin, held the rank of general and count; John Baptist Kavanagh was a general and aulic councillor. Sir James Kavanagh and Baron Henry Kavanagh were distinguished in the Austro-French war.

The Methian family of Nugent has been naturalized in Austria since the seventeenth century; has given two field marshals and several aulic councillors, ambassadors, and generals to the imperial service. In the "thirty years' war," the names of O'Dwyer, Butler, and Maguire frequently occur. On the Austrian army list, a few years ago, there were twenty-five eminent officers of Irish descent.

The other Catholic German power, Bavaria, following the example of the rest, sought to strengthen itself with Irish arms. Baron Harrold, a native of Limerick, and colonel in that service, was chamberlain to the king in 1780.

The King of Naples, also, had his Irish guards, of whom Sir Balthazar O'Neil was colonel, towards the close of the last century. The guard was composed of what was formerly called the regiment of Limerick. At Velettri they rescued the king's person from the Austrian army.

Poor Poland, also, had its Irish soldiers. Field Marshal Maurice Kavanagh devoted his life to defend that nationality against the infamous partitionists.

But the most celebrated Irish captains are those who served under the lilies of France. An Irish company of horse served, in 1652, under Turenne, against the great Condé. In the campaigns of 1673, 1674, and 1675, under Turenne, two or three Irish regiments were in every engagement along the Rhone. At Altenheim, their commander, Count Hamilton, was created a major general of France.

In 1690, the old regiments, with the six new ones sent over by James, were formed into a brigade, and in 1690, 1691, 1692, and 1693, they went through the campaigns of Savoy and Italy, under Catinat, and against Prince Eugene. Justin McCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, who commanded them, died at Bareges of wounds received at Straffardo. At Marsiglia, they routed, in 1693, the allies, killing Duke Schomberg, son to the Huguenot general who fell at the Boyne.

The "new" brigade was employed under Luxemburg, and against King William, in Flanders, in 1692 and 1693. At Namur and Enghien, they were superb. Sarsfield, their brigadier, on the latter day was made mareschal-de-camp. At Landen, on the 29th of July, 1693, France again triumphed, and, with the cry, "Remember Limerick and British faith," Sarsfield pursued the route of the treaty-breakers. A ball reached him in that proud hour, and he fell mortally wounded. Pressing his hand upon the wound, he took it away dripping with blood, and only said, "O that this was for Ireland!" So died one of the most devoted soldiers of the cross and of Irish nationality — a worthy grandson of Rory O'Moore.

The two brigades in the same war lost their chiefs, and were decimated by their many desperate charges. In 1695, all the remaining veterans were organized into twelve complete regiments, four of horse and eight of infantry, under the descendants of their first officers.*

* The king's regiment of cavalry: — Dominick Sheldon, colonel; Edmond Prendergast, lieutenant colonel; Edmond Butler, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

The queen's regiment of cavalry: — Lord Galmoy, colonel; René de

Till the revolution, in 1791, they took part in every war in which France was engaged. From 1691 "to the year 1745, after the battle of Fontenoy, above four hundred and fifty thousand (450,000!) Irishmen lost their lives in the service of France." *

Many of the officers of the brigade founded distinguished families in France, still represented in the politics and the campaigns of that brave nation. O'Brien was created mareschal of France and commander of Languedoc; McMahon, a marquis, and knight of St. Louis; Dillon was created a viscount — the same rank as Turenne's; Lally was made governor of Pondicherry; Roche (who passed into the service of Sardinia) viscount of Fermoy; and so with many others.

French recruiting for the brigade was carried on sys-

Carné, a Frenchman, lieutenant colonel; James Tobin, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

The king's regiment of dragoons: — Lord Viscount Kilmallock, (Sarsfield,) colonel; Turenne O'Carroll, lieutenant colonel; De Salles, a Frenchman, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

The queen's regiment of dragoons: — Charles Viscount Clare, colonel; Alexander Barnewal, lieutenant colonel; Charles Maxwell, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

The king's infantry regiment of guards: — William Dorington, colonel; Oliver O'Gara, lieutenant colonel; John Rothe, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The queen's regiment of infantry: — Simon Luttrel, colonel; Francis Wachop, lieutenant colonel; James O'Brien, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

An infantry regiment of marines: — The Lord Grand-prior, colonel; Nicholas Fitzgerald, lieutenant colonel; Richard Nugent, second lieutenant colonel; Edmond O'Madden, major; 11 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Limerick regiment of infantry: — Sir John Fitzgerald, colonel; Jeremiah O'Mahony, lieutenant colonel; William Thessy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Charlemont regiment of infantry: — Gordon O'Neill, colonel; Hugh McMahon, lieutenant colonel; Edmond Murphy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

Dublin regiment of infantry: — John Power, colonel; John Power, lieutenant colonel; Theobald Burke, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants; 14 ensigns.

The Athlone regiment of infantry: — Walter Burke, colonel; Owen McCarty, lieutenant colonel; Edmond Cantwell, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns. — McGeoghegan, *History of Ireland*, pp. 605, 606.

* Authority, Clarke, Duc de Feltre, minister at war in France — cited in O'Connor's Military Memoirs.

tematically in the south and west, long after the survivors of Limerick had fired their last shot. Smugglers from the Channel Islands, in their light coasting craft, ran in disguised priests and other contraband goods, and carried away many a tall fellow, food for powder, and candidate for glory. Severe laws were enacted against recruiting, and those taken in the fact were summarily executed. In Queen Anne's reign, there is mention of two or three such executions. Still this perilous trade was prosecuted by the smugglers with unwearied energy. Recruits were usually booked as "wild geese" — a name which came to be synonymous with soldier, in those troubled times. Many a popular ballad recorded the parting of the "wild geese" from their native shore, and their achievements abroad. In those days, ballads took the place of the broadsheets and newspapers, and foreign politics were recited and sung at fair and market, in allegories which only the initiated could comprehend. Like Pythagoras, the itinerant songster spoke in hints and proverbs, making his audience "see, as through a *glass*, darkly."

In the war of the succession, the chief glory of the brigade was the defence of Cremona, and their share in the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies. On the latter field, O'Brien, Lord Clare, fell mortally wounded, leaving after him a son to conquer, at Fontenoy. Riva surrendered to Dillon, and Alsira to O'Mahony. On the field of Almanza, 13th March, 1707, (a date British historians duly "overlook,") the French and Irish killed three thousand of the Anglo-Dutch forces, and took ten thousand prisoners and one hundred and twenty stands of colors. This battle compelled Queen Anne to dismiss Marlborough, and accept the humiliating peace of Utrecht.

But the hottest and proudest day the brigade ever saw was a May day, in the year of our Lord 1745. The French army, commanded by Saxe, and accompanied by King Louis, leaving eighteen thousand men to besiege Namur, and six thousand to guard the Scheldt, took a position between that river and the British, having their centre at the village of Fontenoy. The British and Dutch

under King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland, were fifty-five thousand strong; the French forty-five thousand. After a hard day's fighting, victory seemed to declare against France, and King Louis, who was present, prepared for flight. At this moment, Marshal Saxe ordered a final charge, by the seven Irish regiments, under O'Brien, Count Thomond. The tide was turned again to the cry of "Remember Limerick." France was delivered, England humbled, and Holland reduced from a first to a second-rate power upon that day, partly by Irish hearts and hands. With utter self-devotion, they flung themselves on the enemy. They smote them like a torrent, but on the conquered ground their blood was shed like rain. One fourth of all the officers (including Dillon) were killed, and one third of all the men.

Until Waterloo, Fontenoy stood unequalled in military history. But the brave brigade never recovered its lost blood upon that field. To the last, the remnant kept their colors and their character. In Germany with Saxe, in the East with Lally, in Canada with Montcalm, the last of that heroic brotherhood fought till they died. Their favorite chiefs all fell on the field: McCarthy, Sarsfield, the two O'Briens, and the two Dillons, died in battle, and all victorious against England. The last of the Bourbons gave the last of the brigade a flag with this motto: —

"1692–1792.
Semper et Ubique Fidelis."

When, in 1745, the news of the battle of Fontenoy reached King George, he exclaimed, in the bitterness of his disappointment, "Cursed be the laws that deprived me of such subjects!" Singular confession! The penal laws were found, after a trial of a hundred and fifty years, to have served no purpose of state policy! They had exiled, but not extinguished, the faithful Irish race! By the camp fires of Fonteroy the discovery was made. The British might run and read, but the end was not yet. The reformation had done its work in England, if not in Ireland; and those who had raised the spirit of persecution were unable, of themselves, to conjure it down!

CHAPTER VI.

THE JACOBITES AND THE IRISH CATHOLICS.—THE STUARTS CONSULTED AT ROME ON THE APPOINTMENT OF IRISH BISHOPS.—THE RAPPAREES.—THE WANDERING MINSTRELS AND "NEWSMEN."

KING JAMES II. died at St. Germain's, in 1701, and was buried at the English Benedictines' church. Louis immediately acknowledged his son, under the title of James III., by which name he received not only the French court, but also those faithful refugees, chiefly Scotch and Irish, who still clung to his family. Although, at the time of his birth, the enemies of his father pretended to doubt his legitimacy, the loyalists, or, as they are better known, "the Jacobites," in both Ireland and Britain, extended to him the allegiance due to the lawful sovereign.* During the entire reign of Anne, the partisans of the old dynasty were active and sanguine, and it was not till the establishment of the present succession that they began to conceal their opinions, or ceased to conspire for their success.

The result of the Scotch rising of that year disheartened no true Jacobite. The battles of Killiecrankie, under Dundee, and Sheriffmuir, under Mar, were both victories. Dundee's death, and the military incapacity of James himself, who arrived in January, 1716, in Aberdeen, in time to spoil his last chance, were supposed fully to account for the failure of that attempt. Hence the rumored Spanish expedition of 1719, and Bishop Atterbury's plot, in 1722, filled the hearts of the party with sanguine expectations, destined not to be fulfilled, nor yet to be extinguished.

In 1702, there were rumors of a Jacobite rising in Munster; and upon the evidence of "three worthless fellows," Major Geoffery Keating and three respectable citizens of Limerick were arrested, and sent to Dublin with a troop of dragoons. "They were remitted back to Limerick, tried at the assizes, and honorably acquitted."*

* Ferrar's History of Limerick, p. 125.

Like rumors were rife concerning Galway and other places, at several periods, but there seems to have been no good foundation for any of them. In 1743, when such a rumor prevailed, a privy councillor proposed that a massacre of the Irish Catholics should be made, on the ground that, by the rising of 1641, that community had put themselves out of the pale of civilization, and ought to be destroyed.*

James III. and his son were most anxious to keep up their party in Ireland. The officers of the brigade were much courted by them, and the new commissions came chiefly through their hands. The popes, adopting a similar policy, constantly consulted James on the appointment of the Irish bishops. For fifty years after the treaty of Limerick, no mitre was conferred without the concurrence of the Stuarts.† Thus the Irish on the continent, as well clerics as soldiers, were kept in close connection with the old dynasty.

The population remaining at home, after the open violation of the treaty, began to look with eagerness for the return of a Catholic sovereign, who, it was hoped, would be made wise by adversity, and would do them justice. Although a dull and sullen silence reigned over the greater part of the island, the minds of men were far from settled. In the mountainous districts, as the Mourne, the Wicklow and Carlow Highlands, and the mountains of Tipperary and Kerry, there still remained bands of the old guerillas of 1688, known as "Rapparees" — men generally the descendants of good families, whose estates had suffered confiscation, and who had nothing further to fear from outlawry. Even in this wild life, they usually retained the bearing of well-born men, and often exercised a chivalrous protectorate over the poor and the injured. In a state of imperfect intercourse and police, they had a thousand opportunities for displays of tact and courage; and if half the traditions of

---

* More's Captain Rock, p. 140. Longman's 5th edition, London, 1824.

† Pope Benedict XIV., about the year 1757, discontinued this usage.

them are true, they displayed many qualities worthy of the highest admiration.

The first Rapparees, by King James's reports, had made their mark on the open field before they took to the hills. "One O'Connor," a Kildare Rapparee, "with sixty men on horseback, and as many on foot, surprised two companies of grenadiers, whom they cut to pieces, then went to Phillipstown, where they killed one hundred and twenty dragoons, burned the town, and carred away a great booty of horse."* This was in midwinter, 1691. Another "Rapparee," Anthony O'Carroll, surnamed "the Tall," took and held, during 1690 and 1691, the castle and town of Neuagh, and when obliged to vacate it, brought with him five hundred men, in good order, to Limerick.† William's chaplain and historiographer confesses, frankly enough, the activity of the Rapparees. "They are not to be kept in their own province, [Connaught,] but can both keep us out, and also come among us whenever they have a mind to it!" ‡

Among the best remembered of the successors of these gallant guerillas are O'Keefe and Callaghan, in Munster; Higgins, Grace, and the galloping O'Hogan, in the western and midland counties; O'Dempsey and Kavanagh, ("the White Sergeant,") in Leinster. These were all men of some military experience, and of ancient family, who are not to be confounded with the leaders of the agrarian societies formed about the middle of the century. The malice of party has endeavored to stigmatize them as cutthroats and highwaymen, but the contemporaneous facts entitle the Irish Rapparees to rank with the guerillas of Spain and the gallant outlaws of every defeated nationality; with Wallace and Tell, and Scanderberg and Marion, they are entitled to stand; on the same ground, and in the same light of impartial history.

Besides the brigade, the clergy, the peasantry, and the Rapparees, there was another body of Jacobites not to be

* King James's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 433.
† Harris's Life of King William, p. 297.
‡ Story's Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 147.

forgotten — the poets and ballad singers. They were the "newsmen" and censors of their time — a large and various class, ranging from the accomplished gentleman, who, like Fitzgerald, paraphrased Horace, or like McDonald, of Claragh, translated Homer into Gaelic, down to the poor performer and worse versifier who earned his "bit and sup" by nightly concerts in the village tavern.

Chanting a tongue strange to their oppressors, but not beyond the chance of detection, they threw all their political poems into an allegorical form. At one time "the pretender" was "a blackbird," pining in a foreign cage, and sorely troubled, though waited on by lords and ladies; at another, "a little dark man;" sometimes Ireland, personified as a fairy, appeared to the poet, wailing and refusing to be comforted, while her beloved was far away: —

"My priests are banished, my warriors wear
No longer victory's garland;
And my child, my son, my beloved heir,
Is an exile in a far land."*

In other moods, a girl sings of her banished lover, and declares her belief that he will return from France to vindicate her cause against cruel and oppressive relatives; or the poet addresses his country in the guise of a dear mistress, assuring her of his constancy, and foretelling happier days to come: —

"Rise up, my boy! make ready
My horse, for I forth would ride
To follow the modest damsel
That dwells on the green hill's side;
For e'er since our youth were we plighted
In faith, troth, and wedlock true.
O, she's sweeter to me, ten times over,
Than organ or cuckoo!"

Another bard declares his constancy still more significantly: —

"I'll leave my people, both friend and foe;
From all the girls in the world I'll go;
But from you, sweetheart, O, never! O, no!
Till I lie in the coffin, stretched cold and low!"

* Mangan's Trans. in Duffy's Ballad Poetry of Ireland. Dublin, 1846.

More homely, but not less popular, was he who typified pastoral Ireland in a dun cow, "with a face like a rose, and a dewlap of snow." To her the Irish farmer tells his griefs without restraint. He questions her as to her old friends, and answers in the same stanza, —

> "Ah, Drimin Dhu deelish, a pride of the *flow*; *
> Ah, where are your folks — are they living, or no?
> They're down in the ground, 'neath the sod lying low,
> Expecting King James with the crown on his brow."

Leaving them, he speaks of himself, and declares: —

> "But if I could get sight of the crown on his brow,
> By night and day travelling, to London I'd go;
> Over mountains of mist, and soft mosses below,
> Till I'd beat on the kettle drums, Drimin Dhu, O!"

Not content with loving allegories, the house of Hanover and their chief partisans were satirized under various fanciful symbols, all of which, of course, a gesture or a sign made perfectly intelligible to the audience, who had the pieces hot from the composer's lips, in a speech common to both.

The most notable of the Jacobite bards were Carolan, (born in Meath in 1670, died in 1731,) McDonnell, of Claragh, in Cork, (born in 1691, died 1754,) O'Sullivan, of Kerry, (born about the beginning of the eighteenth century, died 1784.) Carolan excelled as a musician more than as a poet, while McDonnell and O'Sullivan possessed the true poetic fire, and knew how to cultivate and subject it to the rules of art. A vast procession, bearing laurels, or something very like laurel, follows behind these masters of Irish song. The number it is impossible to count, or the precise merit of each to distinguish. We can only estimate their merit from the scanty translations that have been made, and their numbers from the accounts of the two great "bardic sessions," periodically held at Charleville, in Cork, and Burrin, in Limerick. At these assemblies, between one and two hundred composers of words, or airs, attended annually, till within ten years of the end of the century. The Ulster session held at Belfast, in 1792, numbered threescore.

---

* Ferguson's Trans. McCarthy's Book of Irish Ballads.

This species of Jacobite organization, while very hard to be got at by the new dynasty, was of very little avail to the old. It served rather to keep alive than to increase or direct the expectation of change. Though irritating in detail to "the Brunswickers," it was powerless in the aggregate. It had in fact no aggregate. Yet its history illustrates a truth that we have often perceived evidences of elsewhere, which is, that those who administer and those who oppose a government are equally apt to overrate each other's power. The governors, being within the edifice, see where it is vulnerable, and become nervously anxious; the assailants, looking at that imposing outside, are often overawed by an appearance of strength, which is only an appearance.

Thus, in 1715, when the partisans of James "the Third" partially rose in arms at Preston and in Scotland, all the registered priests in Ireland were ordered to be arrested and transported beyond seas; all the chapels, or "mass houses," were ordered to be shut up, though there was not the least symptom of insurrection at the time.

It was the custom once to urge, as very creditable to 'Irish loyalty," that our Jacobites did not rise *en masse*, or at least attempt a diversion, in 1715. The fact seems to be, that they were unable to rise. Without chiefs, or organization, or arms, what could they do but wait for events, as they did? The Rapparees were dying out, and all the candidates for military life had sailed away as wild geese. A few Irish officers did join in the Scottish rising of 1715, but they were chiefly from the continent. Some of them, like Chevalier Wogan, suffered imprisonment, were liberated, and returned to foreign service.

The house of Brunswick was placed on the throne, in accordance with the laws regulating "the Protestant succession." The first of them — George I., the son of the electress Sophia, granddaughter to James I., was bred a Catholic, but apostatized in view of the English throne. He stood fourth in descent from the first Stuart, who ruled over the three kingdoms, and consequently combined in his own person the traditions and the blood

of all the sovereigns since the conquest. But this he had only maternally and with much mixture, while hard by, in France, lived the immediate heir of the line. As between titles, the Stuarts had the best of it; but the Guelphs, becoming Protestants, could command all the party created and enriched by "the reformation," and disciplined by "the revolution:" having that party, success was easy. It was, at Queen Anne's death, a very doubtful matter, for a month, which scale would sink or rise. Had the legitimists acted promptly, the day was theirs. Had Ormond taken Arbuthnot's counsel, and proclaimed King James in London streets, the Stuarts might have reigned again. But Anne died suddenly, and without a will; the noble Jacobites hesitated; the people had no power; the whigs were resolute, and the crown of England passed to a third-rate German family.

James "the Third" was not a person to supply the want of nerve in his adherents. Something of a libertine, and a good deal of a glutton, he had little of the heroic in him. He allowed the first elector to take his throne without any great resistance. After this he married the granddaughter of Sobieski, the famous king of Poland, and rejoiced over the heirs for whom he had made no provision. In 1720, Charles Edward was born, and in 1725, Henry Benedict, afterwards "Cardinal York." The former dashed the Sobieski with the Stuart blood, and, in one of the most romantic expeditions ever undertaken, displayed some strokes of courage and policy worthy of the best of his ancestors.

BOOK III.

A. D. 1727 TO 1830.

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF GEORGE II.

UNTIL THE

DEATH OF GEORGE IV.

CHAPTER I.

IRISH PARTIES IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE II. — "THE PATRIOTS." — "THE CASTLE PARTY." — INCREASE OF THE CATHOLICS. — ESTABLISHMENT OF CHARTER SCHOOLS. — SWIFT'S PORTRAITS OF THE PROTESTANT PRELATES. — BATTLE OF CULLODEN. — CHANGE OF CATHOLIC TACTICS.

The city of Dublin became the actual capital of Ireland after the treaty of Limerick. Gradually, by the strong arm of military power, or the silken cords of patronage, the country was drawn to it as to a centre. Once the fortress of invasion, it now bourgeoned into the citadel of a kingdom. Once the seat of a partial representation, (more a parley than a Parliament,) it now began to consider itself a seat of laws and of authority for the whole island, and to assume the tone and leading becoming its position.

Two constitutional parties were the first signs that real power had settled there. The government party was composed of all who either had offices or expectations from the viceroy or from England, and of that numerous body who always like to stand well with a government, of whatever sort. Dublin Castle was their club, and from the reign of William till the middle of the century, the successive Protestant primates were their most active chiefs. The Irish House of Lords, created by England, was almost entirely made up of their partisans.

The opposition party took the name of "the patriots." Molyneux, member for Trinity College, in William's first Irish Parliament, was its precursor, and after his early death, Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, became its director and champion through part of Anne's and the entire of George I.'s reign. The policy of this party was to maintain the local independence of the Parliament, to revive Irish commerce and manufactures, to create a public

spirit in the boroughs and through the country by their writings, to prevent arable land being laid down in pasture, and the depopulation included in that design. The landlords, who had their titles by conquests still recent, felt no obligation to the tenantry — quite the reverse: as cattle became more profitable than cultivators, they adopted a system of extermination, which left whole estates without other occupants than herds and herdsmen. The selfishness of the class was equal to their inhumanity.

The "tithe of agistment," (or tithe of cattle,) an important source of revenue to the establishment, was every where resisted by them. They formed an association for united opposition, and in 1735, they succeeded in having it abolished. The entire tithe charge then fell upon the leaseholders or tenants at will, already burdened with rent, and haunted by the fear of an increased rent, or sudden ejectment to make way for cattle.

The policy advocated by the "patriot party" was favorable to the interests of Catholics. If manufactures increased, wages must increase; if depopulation was stayed, the tenants would have leave and room to live. If high culture succeeded grazing, some better tenure than mere occupancy should be conceded to the farmers. If the Parliament became independent, there was reason to expect it would try to strengthen itself at home by extending the constituency. No wise act of native legislation, however interpreted, could be unfavorable to the body of the native population. Indirectly or directly, mediately or immediately, they should be the gainers. So did Providence dispose events, that the intended instruments of provincial oppression became the means of gradual amelioration.

But during the reigns of Anne and the two first Georges, the patriots, as a minority, could do but little in College Green. Until 1767, Irish Parliaments sat during the lifetime of the king, unless specially dissolved. The government party had the elections of 1730 their own way; the Parliament then elected lasted thirty years! Upon a body so irresponsible to the nation, and so likely to fall into the harness and the pension list of

the castle, the ablest reasoning and the highest eloquence might be spent in vain. The prose and verse of Swift, Sheridan, (the first,) Dobbs, Delaney, Madden, and Malone were, in most cases, thrown away. In 1723, on the question of debasing the Irish currency, for which William Wood had a patent from England, there were some symptoms of public spirit shown in the Commons. But it was with the people the appeals of Swift took most. "I find" (Primate Boulter writes to the English prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle) "the people of every religion, country, and party here are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a most unhappy influence on the state of this nation, by bringing on intimacies between Papists and the whigs, who before had no correspondence with them."* From this dispute about the currency we may date the return of public spirit, beaten down and exiled in the late war. The patriots, henceforward, entitled themselves, by degrees, to be called the national party.

The series of steps by which the Dublin Parliament advanced towards legislative independence were, at first, altogether financial. In 1723, the Commons addressed the king to consent to a reduction of the supplies, but no notice was taken of their modest request; by 1729, Ireland "owed the government" two hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds — a vast sum for that period: in 1731, another petition for reduction went out, with the like result. Every session in future was occupied with "a money bill" debate, the supplies being voted annually. Even after the revenues began to yield a surplus, the discussion was kept up, for the principle had taken root. In 1753, a severe struggle for the surplus fund took place, and the politics of Swift triumphed.

Several of the leaders in debates at this time were children of the old Catholics. In 1753, Anthony Malone, son of Sir Toby Butler's old colleague, a native of Westmeath, stood at the head of the Irish bar. He was "prime sergeant," and took precedence of the at-

* Boulter's Letters.

torney general among the crown officers. For voting against the castle, on the supplies of 1753, he was ousted, and in 1768, for similar independence, he was removed from his office as chancellor of the exchequer. He was considered by such judges as Grattan the equal of Lord Chatham in parliamentary eloquence.*

On the castle side was a very unscrupulous, but very able man, John Healy, who at his marriage assumed the name of Hutchinson. The son of humble Catholic parents in the south, he had resolved to fight his way to rank, and began by disencumbering himself of his proscribed religion. He rose to eminence at the bar and in Parliament; became provost of Trinity College, Earl of Donoughmore, a privy councillor, and one of the richest of the Irish peerage. He gained the whole world of his ambition; but what did it profit him at the hour of death?

Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Mr., afterwards Lord O'Neil, members for Antrim and Clare, distinguished themselves on the patriot side. The Dalys, Brownes, Floods, and Fitzgeralds, also of Catholic ancestors, were well-known members of Parliament. The castle was defeated on the money bills, and the surplus revenue was, in future, expended in paying off the national debt, and in forwarding internal improvements.

The Viceroys Wharton, Carteret, Grafton, and Chesterfield had seen the rise of the patriot party. Boulter had tried in vain to strangle it. His successor in place and politics, Primate Stone, who is related to him in our history, on a small scale, as Mazarin is to Richelieu in that of France, grappled it in vain. The Duke of Bedford, viceroy from 1750 to 1760, assisted Stone with all the appliances of patronage and power. But it was labor lost; a great party had been created, and it advanced from aggression to aggression.

The elder Pitt, who then ruled England, writes to the duke, in 1757, that the parties being "on a near equality in strength," "all softening and healing arts of

* Mr. Cornelius O'Callaghan, Jr., a son of Butler's old *protégé*, was also an active member of these Parliaments.

government" — in plain terms, bribery and titles — are to be tried. A partial success attended this policy, but only partial, and for a short time.

In 1759, a report prevailed in Dublin, that "a union" was contemplated. On the 3d of December, the citizens rose *en masse*, and surrounded the houses of Parliament. They stopped the carriages of members, and obliged them to swear opposition to such a measure. Some of the Protestant bishops, the chancellor, and the attorney general were roughly handled, but escaped; a privy councillor was thrown into the river; Lord Inchiquin was abused till he said his name was O'Brien, when the rage of the people "was turned into acclamations."* The speaker (Ponsonby) and the secretary for Ireland (Rigby) had to appear on the porch steps, and solemnly assure the citizens that no union was dreamt of, and if it was proposed, that they would be the first to resist it. Public spirit had evidenly grown bold and confident, and we can well believe Secretary Rigby when he writes to the elder Pitt, that "the mob" declared, "since they have no chance of numbers in the house, they must have recourse to numbers out of doors."†

In these agitations the Irish Catholics could take no very active part. Though gradually increasing in numbers, and still nominally possessed of the elective franchise, they were even yet "as insignificant as women and children." Like the oppressed Israelites, their sorrow and their hope was in their offspring; like them, also, though "wisely oppressed," they continued to increase in a greater proportion than the Protestant population. In the conjectural census of 1747, which rated the whole population at four millions and a third, the Catholics were admitted to be three millions and a half. In Ulster they had clung to the soil, while the Presbyterian emigration went on. In Derry, Armagh, and Antrim, they were now equal to those who had been set over them in the preceding century, and in some places

---

* Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George II.

† Correspondence in Life of Grattan, vol. i. p. 75.

they already exceeded them. This ratio the northern Catholics have ever since maintained.

In Mayo, in 1731, it was reported to Parliament that the Catholics were "twelve to one;" in Kerry, in 1733, they were "one hundred to one;" in Kilkenny and Meath the disproportion was still greater in favor of the Catholics — in some parishes "one thousand to one." Through the three provinces the ratio was thought to be (including towns and cities) "seven to one."* It shows the powerlessness of mere undisciplined numbers, when the one seventh part of a people could so long and so ostentatiously oppress the vast remainder. The minority, however, had a powerful ally in England.

While this was the state of parties and politics, Dr. Boulter became enamoured of the double glory of being the legislator and apostle of his generation. Under his

---

* The tourists to Ireland, in this and the succeeding reign, were, naturally enough, struck with this disparity of numbers. A German, (Prince Puckler Muskau,) gives the following statistics of the county Tipperary, early in the next reign. He writes,—

"I found all I had heard of the actual proportion between Protestant and Catholic fully confirmed. Among other information, I obtained an official list of part of the parishes in the diocese of Cashel.

	Catholics.	*Protestants.*
Thurles has	12,000	280
Cashel	11,000	700
Clonoulty	5,142	82
Cappawhite	2,800	76
Killenaule	7,040	514
Boherlaw	5,000	25
Fethard	7,600	400
Kilcommon	2,400	—
Moykarkey	7,000	80
Golden	4,000	120
Donaskeagh	5,700	90
New Inn	4,500	30
	78,182	2,870

"In Kilcommon, where there is not a single Protestant parishioner, the service, which, according to law, must be performed once a year, is enacted in the ruins with the help of a Catholic clerk. In another, called Tullemaine, the same farce took place. But not a whit the less must the non-attending parishioners pay the utmost farthing of their tithes and other dues; and no claims are so bitterly enforced as those of this Christian church. There is no pity—at least none for the Catholics."

auspices schools to proselytize the Catholic youth were regularly established, and an "Incorporated Society" founded by law, in 1733, for the control and support of the schools.

This plan of making Irish Protestants was not new. Both Henry and Elizabeth had legislated upon it — had enacted that the schools should be placed under the new clergy, out of whose income the expenses were to be taken. The parsons did not relish this method of spreading the gospel, and paying for it beside. Similar acts of the seventh of William and the second and third of George I. failed to arouse them to their duties as teachers, and Dr. Boulter, in despair, turned for a remedy to Parliament. This was thought to be found in "the Incorporated Society," whose expenses were to be taken from the treasury, while engaged in the good work of "teaching the children of the Popish and other natives." The motive of the mover is well put by himself. "One of the most likely methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing and converting the young generation; for instead of converting those that are adult, we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who go off to Popery."*

Unfortunately for the new scheme, the controversy concerning the tithe of agistment raged most fiercely at this date. The landlords, according to the primate, hated the parsons as heartily as they did "the Popish priests," while the former "accepted whatever they could get, and very few of them ever went to their livings to do their duty." During this agitation and the progress of laying down land in pasturage, according to the same competent witness, "a great part of the churches were neglected, and going to ruin," while "it became necessary to give as many as six or seven parishes to one incumbent, in order to enable him to live." After devoting a dozen years to the advocacy of his schools and other schemes, the energetic Boulter died, at London, in 1742. He had tried with equal ardor, and more

* Boulter's Correspondence. Letters from 1730 to 1737.

authority, the plan of Usher, Daniel, and Bedell, but with scanty success. Though he did not succeed in reaping the harvest of perversion, he has made that mode of cultivation fashionable, and henceforth we find "charter schools" a fundamental part of England's policy in Ireland.

The new system could not complain of any scarcity of supplies. Their annual grants from Parliament were nearly equal to eighty thousand pounds per year.* In addition to this, they had many bequests. A Baron Vryhaven left them fifty-six thousand pounds; the Earl of Ranelagh bequeathed them valuable real estate; an anonymous benefactor left them forty thousand pounds; and many other well-disposed people smaller legacies. The "Incorporated Society" was thus enabled to do a great deal, so far as money went. Still their schools progressed but slowly. In 1771, they had but fifty-two altogether, educating only two thousand and thirty-five children. In 1775, the society made a by-law that "none but Popish children" should be admitted to the schools — thus avowing and insuring their proselytizing purpose. The treatment of the poor little Catholics in these places was inhuman to the last degree. Here surely was a vantage ground and crowning mercy for Protestantism. There were no other schools tolerated but their own, and their own had the public treasury for a revenue. If ever the Irish were to be converted, this was the time, and these were the means. But what was the result? The system not only failed, but in its failure demonstrated anew the utter hollowness and heartlessness of the Anglican schism. It escaped for a time unexposed. A Protestant Parliament voted the supplies, ordered the reports to be printed, and took no further interest in the matter. At length, a great philanthropist, the humane Howard, visited Ireland on his "circumnavigation of charity." The committees of Parliament received him with respect, and many

* Parliamentary Report, 1809, states that, from 1730 to 1820, they had received one million six hundred thousand pounds.

improvements in prisons and hospitals were made at his suggestion. He brought the subject of the charter schools to the attention of Parliament. In 1787, they ordered an inquiry, and found that, of twenty-one hundred scholars reported, only fourteen hundred could be produced. Howard and Sir Jeremiah Fitzpatrick, inspector of prisons, served on the commission, and were examined. Both stated that the children "were in general filthy and ill clothed;" that "the diet was insufficient for the support of their delicate frames;" that many of the schools "were going to ruin;" that many of the scholars "were without shifts or shirts, and in such a condition as was indecent to look on." Howard concluded his evidence by asserting that "the children in general were sickly, pale, and such miserable objects that they were a disgrace to all society, and their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for their masters." This was the ripe result of Dr. Boulter's schools, which, however, lived on in their rottenness and pretences for half a century longer. The shameless tenacity with which they were defended shows how entirely pride and prejudice were the guides and governors of the Irish establishment.

Besides the charter schools, there were a few schools of immediate royal origin. Charles I. founded seven of these, — at Armagh, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Raphoe, Cavan, Banagher, and Carysford, and endowed them with thirteen thousand six hundred and twenty-seven acres of land in Ulster for their maintenance. There was nothing in the grant giving these schools a sectarian object, or excluding Catholic teachers. The administration, however, was vested in the Protestant archbishops and bishops, who took care to make the royal schools rivals of the chartered in bigotry and inhumanity. The British commissioners for inquiring into the state of education in Ireland (in 1821) found that, "with the single exception of Carysford, all the masters, and several of the assistants, are clergymen of the established church." The original intention of the founder

evidently was, that these should be free schools. The masters, on the contrary, received their stipends, and charged the scholars beside! In 1788, the seven royal schools had ninety-eight boarders, seventy-five day scholars, and thirty-eight *free* scholars. With a rental, in that year, of thirty-nine hundred and eighteen pounds, they contrived to educate some two hundred scholars at a charge of over twenty pounds sterling to the state, and half as much more to scholars who could pay.

The other proselytizing schools in the last century were "the Blue Coat School," founded by Charles II., whose rental, in 1810, amounted to about four thousand pounds; the Hibernian School, by George III., in 1769, for soldiers' children, which, up to 1826, received, besides its rental, (to us unknown,) two hundred and forty thousand three hundred and fifty-six pounds of parliamentary money; the Hibernian Marine School, its pendant, founded in 1771, for the education of the children of decayed sailors, and endowed with lands and an annual grant of four hundred pounds per annum.

Here, then, were surely appliances enough for "instructing and converting the young generation." Could Boulter himself desire more than the pious house of Brunswick gave? Yet, after a generation so tempted has passed, the Catholics are still "seven to one" in the island. Another generation passes, and the ratio increases; another, and the Catholics are fifty to one in the country, and three to one in the cities!

All this time, these were the *only* schools tolerated in the land, all others being felonious. Seditious schoolmasters did, indeed, contrive to defy the law in holes and corners, especially in Munster. Cork, Limerick, and Kerry were the chief seats of those vagrant academies called "hedge schools." They had neither law nor revenues to sustain them, but still they had what the charter schools wanted — plenty of pupils. Some snug farmer who had outlived the penal storm of Anne's reign would give his barn for an academy; and there the

learned philomath would preside over his motley and eager subjects. Strange contrasts would be forever present, but their commonness caused them to be forgotten. Barefoot boys, stretched on the grass in summer, would wrestle in spirit with Aristotle, or chant aloud the battle pieces of Homer; by the winter's sun, or the firelight of the long, dark evenings, they would recite Cicero's sonorous periods, construct diagrams, or give out grammatical "crans," some of which even the awful master could not solve. Between the hedge schoolmaster and the Jacobite bard, Latin and Irish had, for that century, much more currency in three fourths of the counties than the language of Swift and the great orators of the Parliament. The peasantry, traditional devotees of faith and learning, hailed the vagrant scholar on his way, and felt rejoiced to lodge and refresh him. Where a famous "master" resided, every house had its honored "gossoon," whose free quarters inadequately expressed the tenderness of the people for "the poor boys who came so far to get their classics." Munster contended with the reformation for "the instruction of the young generation," and the victory was clearly with Munster.

With the consciousness of returning power, derived from mere increase of numbers, the policy of the Catholics took a new direction. Men began to speak slightingly of their ancestors' foolish devotion to the Stuarts. Those who had stood by the people through every peril began to express hope in the future, under the house of Brunswick. Catholics like Viscount Taafe and Charles O'Conor, towards the end of George II.'s reign, struck the new chord of popular conviction.* They speak in their pamphlets regretfully and respectfully of the Stuarts, but speak of them as gone, as forever passed away. The polite Lord Chesterfield, when viceroy, perceived and took advantage of this turning of the tide. He connived at Catholic worship in Dublin, and after a melancholy loss of life by the falling in of a garret in Cooke Street, where mass was said, he permitted the erection of a

* Hibernia Collectanea. Dublin, 1789.

chapel or two in that city.* Acting on his own morality of dissimulation, he even held out a vague prospect of the abolition of part of the penal code, and of the tithe impost, and by "closeting and claret," succeeded in conciliating some leading Catholics; for once more there are such persons as leading Catholics.

Except Dr. Stone, there was no very zealous or formidable man among the Protestant hierarchy after Boulter's death. If we may judge of them by the report of Swift, the bishops of the establishment were among the most servile and worthless of mankind.

> "Of whom there are not four at most
> Who know there is a Holy Ghost;
> And when they boast they have conferred it
> Like Paul's Ephesians, never heard it;
> And when they gave it, 'tis well known,
> They gave what never was their own."

In another piece, he gives them a gratuitous advice.

> "Let prelates by their good behavior
> Convince us they believe a Savior;
> Nor sell, what they so dearly bought,
> This country, not their own, for nought."

While they were intriguing for power and patronage, the true bishops were gradually repairing the fences of the fold, and, with the chief laymen of their community, were weaning the fond hearts of the poor people from the Stuarts, preparatory to a more political loyalty. In this design, events abroad admonished and directed them. One of these events — the Scotch expedition of Charles Edward — makes an era in this history, and from its influence, as a demonstration, on their after course, needs to be well considered in connection with the reign of George II.

The rupture between England and Spain, in 1739, excited the sanguine partisans of the Stuarts, and, when Austria and France joined in the contest, their hopes of another restoration rose still higher. In 1744, the young

* Life of Lord Chesterfield.

chevalier, Charles Edward, then in his 24th year, was actually on board a French fleet with fifteen thousand men, and Saxe for general, when a storm drove the ships ashore, and gave the ministers at Paris an interval, in which they decided to abandon the expedition. The battle of Fontenoy, by opening the prospect of another treaty as advantageous as that of Utrecht, still further disinclined them towards their first project, and left the brave young prince with private means and little preparation to attempt the invasion or abandon it.

The expedition of 1745, such as it was, was undertaken and conducted by Irish aid, quite as much as French or Scottish. The chief parties to it were, besides the old Marquis of Tullibardine and the young Duke of Perth, the Waterses, father and son, Irish bankers at Paris, who advanced a hundred and eighty thousand livres between them; Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantz, who put a privateer of eighteen guns into the venture; Sir Thomas Geraldine, the agent at Paris; Sir Thomas Sheridan, the prince's preceptor, who, with Colonels O'Sullivan and Lynch, Captain O'Neil, and other officers of the brigade, formed the staff, on which Sir John McDonald, a Scottish officer in the Spanish service, was also placed. Fathers Kelly and O'Brien also volunteered in the expedition. On the 22d of June, 1745, with seven friends, the prince embarked in Walsh's vessel, called the Doutelle, at St. Nazaire, in the Loire, and on the 19th of July, landed on the northern coast of Scotland, near Moidart. The Scottish chiefs, little consulted or considered beforehand, came slowly and dubiously to the landing-place. Under their patriarchal control there were about a hundred thousand Highlanders, or one twelfth of the Scottish population. Clanranald, Cameron of Lochiel, the Laird of McLeod, and a few others having joined him, the standard was unfurled on the 19th of August, at Glenfinin, where that evening twelve hundred men — the entire army so far — were formed into camp, under the orders of O'Sullivan. From that day until the day of Culloden, O'Sullivan seems to have manœuvred the prince's forces. At Perth, at Edinburgh, at

Preston, at Manchester, at Culloden, he takes command in the field, or in garrison; and even after the sad result, he adheres to his sovereign's son with proverbial fidelity.

Charles, on his part, put full confidence in his Irish officers, and adopted such a programme as they could respect. In his proclamation after the battle of Preston, he declared it was not his intention to enforce on the people of England, Scotland, or Ireland, "a religion they disliked." In a subsequent paper, he asks, "Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favor?" These and his other proclamations betray an Irish pen; probably Sir Thomas Sheridan's. One of Charles's English adherents, Lord Elcho, who kept a journal, notes down, complainingly, the Irish influence under which he acted. "The prince and his old governor, Sir Thomas Sheridan," are specially objected to, and other "Irish favorites," his officers, are censured in a body.* While at Edinburgh, a French ship, containing some arms, supplies, and "Irish officers," arrived, and with the five thousand men gathered by the end of October, they proceeded to invade England.

Simultaneously, efforts were made to recruit for the prince in Ireland; but the agents being taken in some cases, and the people not very eager to join the service, that resource was closed.

The Irish in France, as if to cover the inaction of their countrymen at home, strained every nerve. The Waterses and O'Brien of Paris were the bankers of the expedition. Into their hands James "exhausted his treasury" to support his gallant son. At Fontainebleau, on the 23d of October, Colonel O'Brien, on the part of the prince, and the Marquis D'Argeusson for Louis XV., formed a treaty of "friendship and alliance." One of the clauses of this compact was, that some of the Irish

---

Chambers's Scottish Insurrection of 1745.

regiments in France, and other troops, should be sent to sustain the expedition. Under Lord John Drummond a thousand men were shipped from Dunkirk, and arrived at Montrose in the Highlands about the time Charles was at Manchester. The officers, with the prince, in council, refused to advance on London with so small a force; a retreat was decided on; the sturdy defence of Carlisle and victory of Falkirk checked the pursuit; but the overwhelming force of the Duke of Cumberland compelled them to evacuate Edinburgh, Perth, and Glasgow — operations which consumed February, March, and the first half of April, 1746.

The next plan of operations seems to have been to occupy and concentrate in the Highlands, with Inverness for head-quarters. The town Charles easily got, but Fort George, a powerful fortress, (built upon the site of the castle where Macbeth is said to have murdered Duncan,) commanded the Lough. Stapleton and the Irish pickets, however, captured it, and also the neighboring Fort Augustus. Joined by some Highlanders, they next attempted Fort William, the last fortress of King George in the north, but on the 3d of April were recalled to the main body.

To cover Inverness, his principal dependence, Charles resolved to give battle.* The ground, flanked by the River Nairn, was spotted with marsh and very irregular. It was called Culloden, and was chosen by O'Sullivan. Brigadier Stapleton, another Irish officer, and Colonel Ker reported against it, as a field; but Charles adopted O'Sullivan's opinion of its fitness for Highland warfare. When the preparations for battle began, "many voices exclaimed, 'We'll give Cumberland another Fontenoy!'" The Jacobites were placed in position by O'Sullivan, "at once their adjutant and quartermaster general," and, as the burghers of Preston thought, "a very likely fellow." He formed two lines, the great clans being in the first, the

* "It has been insinuated that Charles was here guided by his tutor, Sheridan, and the French officers," says Chambers, who adds that "the chief reason" was his "general anxiety for fighting."

Ogilvies, Gordons, and Murrays; the French and Irish in the second. Four pieces of cannon flanked each wing, and four occupied the centre. Lord George Murray commanded the right wing, Lord John Drummond the left, and Brigadier Stapleton the reserve. They were in all under five thousand. The British formed in three lines, ten thousand strong, with two guns between every second regiment of the first and second line. The action commenced about noon of April 16th, and before evening half the troops of Prince Charles lay dead on the field, and the rest were hopelessly broken. The retreat was pellmell, except where "a troop of the Irish pickets, by a spirited fire, checked the pursuit, which a body of dragoons commenced after the Macdonalds, and Lord Lewis Gordon's regiments did similar service." Stapleton conducted the French and Irish remnant to Inverness, and obtained for them by capitulation "fair quarter and honorable treatment."

The unhappy prince remained on the field almost to the last. "It required," says a writer, "all the eloquence, and indeed all the active exertions, of O'Sullivan to make Charles quit the field. A cornet in the service, when questioned upon this subject at the point of death, declared he saw O'Sullivan, after using entreaties in vain, turn the head of the prince's horse and drag him away.*

From that night forth, O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and a poor sedan carrier of Edinburgh, called Burke, accompanied him in all his wanderings and adventures among the Scottish islands. At the Long Island they were obliged to part, the prince proceeding alone with Miss Flora McDonald. He had not long left, when a French cutter hove in sight and took off O'Sullivan, intending to touch at another point, and take in the prince and O'Neil. The same night she was blown off the coast, and the prince, after many other adventures, was finally taken off at Badenoch, on the 15th of September, by the L'Hereux, a French armed vessel, in which Captain Sheridan, (son of Sir Thomas,) Mr. O'Beirne, a lieuten-

* Quarterly Review, No. 71.

ant in the French army, "and two other gentlemen" had adventured, in search of him.

Poor O'Neil, in seeking to rejoin his master, was taken prisoner, carried to London, and is lost from the record. O'Sullivan reached France safely, where, with Stapleton, Lynch, and the other Irish and Scotch officers, he was cordially welcomed.

Such was the last struggle of the Stuarts. For years after, the popular imagination in both countries clung fondly to Prince Charles. But the cause was dead. To bury it forever, Charles, in despair, grew dissipated and desponding. In 1755, "the British Jacobites" sent Colonel McNamara, as their agent, to induce him to put away his mistress, Miss Walsingham; but he refused. In 1766, when James III. died at Avignon, the French and the pope refused to acknowledge the prince by the title of Charles III. When the latter died, in 1788, at Rome, Cardinal York contented himself with having a medal struck, with the inscription "Henricus IX., Angliæ Rex." In 1800, when driven from Rome by the French arms, he accepted a stipend of four thousand pounds from George III., which he continued to receive till his death, in 1808. He was the last of the Stuarts.

During 1745 and 1746, Chesterfield, the Irish viceroy, contented himself with some precautionary proclamations against recruiting without license, rewards for the apprehension of rebel chiefs, and such paper defences. There was no need for more. The Catholic people were in little better condition than they had been in 1715. Without officers or arms, what could they do but wait and watch? To say that any sense of new-born loyalty kept them peaceable, is to assert what was not the fact. If there had been ten or twenty thousand Jacobites in any part, or all Ireland, comparatively as well armed as the Highlanders, there would have been battles for Prince Charles as well on Irish as on Scottish soil. The double failure of father and son, in neither of which the Irish at home were concerned, the self-abandonment of the brave prince, and the growth of native parties and politics, weaned Ireland away from her ancient loyalty. Hence,

at the accession of George III., we are presented with an entirely new state of facts, in the relations of the Catholic population and the house of Brunswick.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF IRELAND AT THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. — PUBLICATIONS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — THE GREAT FAMINE. — CATHOLIC COMMITTEES FOR PETITIONING PARLIAMENT. — PROPOSED RELIEF BILL OF 1762. — RUMORED FRENCH INVASION. — AGRARIANISM. — MARTYRDOM OF FATHER NICHOLAS SHEEHY AND HIS FRIENDS. — SPREAD OF SECRET SOCIETIES. — THE METHODISTS IN IRELAND.

From the year 1745, memorable for the battles of Fontenoy and Culloden, we begin to trace the symptoms of returning life among the Irish Catholics. In that year mass was tolerated, and the premiums on priest-catching abolished. Chesterfield, who returned to England in 1747, was not able to prevent, although he tried hard to extinguish, the light which slowly spread over the island. Dr. Lucas, the penman of the patriot party at this period, in his addresses to the citizens of Dublin, compares the sufferings of the Catholics to those endured by the South Americans from their Spanish conquerors. Chief Justice Marlay, who represented the castle party, (as Irish judges usually do,) condescended, in his charge to the Dublin grand juries, in 1749, to say, that during the late rebellion, the Catholics "not only preserved peace at home, but contributed to restore it in Great Britain." It was clear that, at last, a prospect for discussion was opened. Of this the Dublin patriots and some of the educated Catholics at once availed themselves. The Dublin press was exceedingly active in producing new pamphlets and reprints bearing on the Catholic question. Eminent among the writers was Henry Brooke, a native of Mullingar, and a disciple of

Wesley or Whitefield. His Farmer's Letters on the case of the Catholics of Ireland, which appeared at intervals from 1750 to 1760, are among the best things ever written on the subject. While they have not the brevity or sarcastic power of Swift, they rival the Drapier's essays in ease, directness, and clearness of statement. Next to Brooke in effectiveness was Charles O'Connor of Belanagar, the son of that frugal recusant who ploughed his fields with his own hands, to set his boys an example of industry. Many of the anonymous pamphlets of that time bear the impress of his antiquarian studies and his masculine English. In Dr. Curry, of Dublin, the Catholic writers found a vigorous ally. Passing a Protestant church, while the congregation were coming out, after a furious No Popery sermon, he heard "a young lady" inquire "if there were any of those horrid Papists left in Ireland." This turned his attention to historical studies, the chief result of which was his Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, published at Dublin, in 1757. On the same side, Viscount Taafe, long distinguished in the Austrian service, in his old age permitted to return to Ireland, published his "Observations on the Affairs in Ireland from 1691 to the Present Time." In his introductory remarks, he writes, "Sequestered by my religion from my seat in Parliament, and stripped of most of the privileges of an Irish peer, I leave this pledge of affection to my king, to my country, and our present free constitution; and I may still be useful, if *the time is come*, as I trust it is, when true information can dare encounter every favorite error, and when prejudices equally worthless and unsociable are renounced in favor of maxims which experience has shown to be the lessons of nature, and which alone can render nations happy." The whole of this pamphlet is in the same subdued but manly style. The concluding reflections are worthy of remembrance under all circumstances. "In a state of suffering," he says, "Christians often fill their proper post; and of that post self-denial is the outguard. A state of prosperity is the state of danger, often as fatal as it is flattering. Let us not,

therefore, lose the merit of the sacrifice we make — that of worldly advantages; — the bitterest acquisitions on earth, should we acquire them by dissimulation, or, in other words, by the renunciation of principles, which are the best tests of human probity. Sincerity, insulted and punished sincerity, is a source of comfort in the world we inhabit. If we act in a manner unworthy of this virtue, we are undone; we lose the merit of our sufferings; and thus, criminal towards God, how can we presume on favors from the governors he hath set over us?" *

The proscription of the manufactures of Ireland by William, and the proscription of Irish tillage in Anne's time, had produced their natural consequences. In 1727, 1728, and 1729, famine raged among the peasantry, condemned to a pastoral state, in an artificial age; in 1740 and 1741, and in 1745, it returned, and in the winter of 1756, and the spring of 1757, hundreds, perhaps thousands, perished for want of food. Yet, after all, says a well-informed writer, "the Roman Catholics are at least as numerous as they were in the reign of Queen Anne." † During this famine, the new viceroy, John, Duke of Bedford, arrived in Ireland, having with him a "king's letter," empowering him to expend £20,000 in relief of the sufferers. "After the reduction of one fifth of the population," says Charles O'Connor, "a productive harvest put an end to these distresses. The system of persecution revived with the reviving strength and growing property of the country. The Catholics were every where disarmed, domiciliary visits were made in quest of priests and friars, and a cruel persecution commenced in every quarter of the kingdom." These measures were

* We have seen a collection of the pamphlets published at Dublin chiefly on the Catholic question, between the years 1750 and 1760, amounting to ten or a dozen volumes.

† This writer, in his work, the Protestant Interest considered relatively to the Popery Laws, (Dublin, 1757,) vividly describes the famine he had seen. "A dreadful spectacle this! wherein the living, unfit for any other labor, were employed in burying the dead; the last and mournful office of fainting numbers, who expected, and *wanted*, the like tender care in a few days." — *Protestant Interest*, p. 30.

taken upon rumors of a French invasion, which, in 1758, circulated generally through England and Ireland.

In 1757, the first "Catholic Association," or "Committee," was privately formed, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament. At the head of this movement was Charles O'Connor. This distinguished man was born and bred up among the frightful evidences of the penal code. "In 1732," says his biographer, "a proclamation was issued against the Roman Catholic clergy, and the degree of violence with which it was enforced made many of the old natives look seriously, as a last resource, to emigration. Bishop O'Rorke retired from Belanagar, and the gentlemen of that neighborhood had no clergyman for a considerable time to give them mass, but a poor old man named Pendergast, who, before daydawn, on Sunday, crept into a cave in the parish of Baslick, and waited there for his congregation, in cold and wet weather, hunger and thirst, to preach to them patience under their afflictions, and perseverance in their principles; to offer up prayers for their persecutors, and to arm them with resignation to the will of Heaven. The cave is called Pool-an-Aiffrin, or Mass Cave, till this day."* Under auspices such as these Charles O'Connor came of age — a studious, reflective, and deliberating man. Some of his early publications on Irish history obtained him general reputation — the thanks and correspondence, among others, of Samuel Johnson. In 1770, he published the map of Ireland, showing the territories of the several clans, first issued by Ortellius of Antwerp, in the 16th century. This publication caused an outcry for the time, that the Catholics were preparing for the restoration of the old estates. But this storm blew over, and the venerable antiquary of Belanagar lived to see the work of Catholic emancipation, as well as of Irish literature, progressing beyond belief or expectation. Of both movements he might well be called "father." With Mr. O'Connor, in the formation of the Association of 1757, the principal

* Memoir of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor, vol. i. p. 179.

persons were, Dr. Curry, of Dublin, before mentioned, and Mr. Wyse, of Waterford, a successful merchant. "This gentleman," (says the author of the *Protestant Interest Considered*,) "at an expense to which few private fortunes are equal, hath introduced useful arts into this kingdom; and if he failed in any, it was not from any impractibility in the scheme itself, but from the want of that assistance which ambition for the public interest should never be destitute of." * To these three gentlemen, more especially to the first, belongs the merit of the first legal resistance to the penal code since Sir Toby Butler's time; and the first attempt at a peaceable organization of the scattered strength of the Catholics.

The greatest obstacle of the new leaders was the rooted indifference of many of the Catholics themselves. "Too many among this party," says an anonymous Catholic writer, in 1755, "are grown listless and indifferent, with regard to pain or liberty; like men long confined, they soothe themselves into an unmanly stupefaction, grow regardless of all events, and think of nothing above or beyond the present condition. Let this political apathy be never so general, it ought to be shaken off. No merit can result from the silence of grievances which ought to be known to the public, as *it* is affected by them; and known to the legislature also, as *that* alone can redress them. What, then, have the Roman Catholics for fear?" †

In 1758, the rumors of a projected French invasion under Conflans caused the Catholic body to rise into favor with the house of Hanover. John, Duke of Bedford, the viceroy, acted upon instructions to conciliate. The next year, "the Roman Catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of Dublin," in an address to the duke, drafted by Bishop O'Keefe, of Kildare, after complimenting the reigning family, added, "We sincerely assure your grace that we are ready and

* Protestant Interest Considered, p. 47.

† Case of the Catholics, addressed to Lord Hartington. Dublin, P. Lord, 1755.

willing, to the utmost of our power, to assist in supporting his majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever." In his reply, the viceroy observed, "It gives me the greatest pleasure to find that they (the Catholics) are so fully sensible of the lenity which hath been extended to them during the whole course of his majesty's reign; and they may be assured, that, so long as they conduct themselves with duty and affection to the king, they will not fail to receive his majesty's protection." In the same reply, he observed, "The zeal and attachment they profess to his majesty's person and government can never be more seasonably manifested than in the present conjuncture." The Catholic prelates were not slow in taking this hint. Their pastorals, exhorting to loyalty and peace, were read from every altar; and when, in 1760, the French under Thurot landed at Carrickfergus,* — their first visit to Ireland for about seventy years, — they found no native insurrection on foot. After taking the town and castle, and waiting in vain for auxiliaries, they put to sea, were attacked by a British fleet in the Channel, when their ships were dispersed, and Thurot killed in the action. On the first report of the landing of the French, the Irish Parliament had promptly raised six regiments of foot, and a troop of horse; they also voted £150,000 for the public service, and later in the same session £300,000. The sums were expended, but the new levies were not called into the field. The accession of George III., the same year, called out fresh Catholic addresses, which, in 1761 and 1762, were repeated, with little variation of terms, or purport. The eighth year of this reign is remarkable as the date of the first Catholic relief bill, which passed the Irish Parliament — an act for empowering Catholics to loan money on real estate mortgage. The Irish houses passed it without a division, but it was rejected by the king in council. The first relief bill which became law dates only from 1774.

* Thurot, an old privateer, or better sort of smuggler, was long familiar with the Channel. He passed the year 1750 in Carlingford, and learned the English language there.—*Dublin Penny Journal for* 1832, p. 33.

Before coming to that point of time, we must not overlook the agrarian combinations of the ten years, of which we treat in this chapter. Four famines within twenty years had driven the peasantry to despair. Lord Taafe has well described one element in their altered condition. "No sooner," he says, —

"Were the Catholics excluded from durable and "profitable tenures, than they commenced graziers, and "laid aside agriculture; they ceased from draining "or enclosing their farms and building good houses, as "occupations unsuited to the new post assigned them in "our national economy. They fell to wasting the lands "they were virtually forbid to cultivate; the business of "pasturage being compatible with such conduct, and re-"quiring also little industry and still less labor in the man-"agement. This business, moreover, brings quick returns "in money; and though its profits be smaller than those "arising from agriculture, yet they are more immediate, "and much better adapted to the condition of men who are "confined to a fugitive property, which can so readily be "transferred from one country to another. This pastoral "occupation also eludes the vigilance of our present race "of informers, as the difficulty of ascertaining a grazier's "profits is considerable, and as the proofs of his enjoying "more than a third penny profit cannot so easily be made "clear in our courts of law. The keeping the lands "waste also prevents, in a great degree, leases in rever-"sion, which Protestants only are qualified to take; "and this (by the small temptation to such reversions) "gives the present occupant the best title to a future "renewal. This sort of self-defence, in keeping the "lands uncultivated, had the further ill consequence of "expelling that most useful body of people, called yeo-"manry, in England, and which we denominated Scu-"loags, in Ireland. Communities of industrious house-"keepers, who, in my own time, herded together in large "villages, and cultivated the lands every where, lived "comfortably, until, as leases expired, some rich grazier, "negotiating privately with a sum of ready money, took "these lands over their heads. This is a fact well

" known. The Sculoag race, that great nursery of labor-
" ers and manufacturers, has been broken and dispersed
" in every quarter; and we have nothing in lieu, but the
" most miserable wretches on earth, the cottagers; naked
" slaves, who labor without any nourishing food, and
" live while they can, without houses or covering, under
" the lash of merciless and relentless taskmasters!"

Another contemporary author gives this account of the origin of the same disturbances: "Some landlords in Munster have let their lands to cotters far above their value, and, to lighten their burden, allowed commonage to their tenants by way of recompense: afterwards, in despite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed these commons, and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable."* The peasantry of Waterford, Cork, and other southern counties met in tumultuous crowds, and demolished the new enclosures. The Protestant Parliament took their usual cue on such occasions: they pronounced, at once, that the cause of the riots was "treason against the state;" they even appointed a committee to "inquire into the cause and progress of the Popish insurrection in Munster." Although the London Gazette, on the authority of royal commissioners, declared that the rioters "consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions," the castle bigots would have it to be "another Popish plot." Even Lucas, the patriot leader, was carried away by the passions of the hour, and declaimed against all lenity, as cowardly and criminal.

A large military force, under the Marquis of Drogheda, was despatched to the south. The marquis fixed his head-quarters at Clogheen, in Tipperary, the parish priest of which district was the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy. The magistracy of the county, especially Sir Thomas Maude, William Bagnel, John Bagwell, Daniel Toler, and Parson Hewetson, were among the chief maintainers

* An Inquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the Levellers or Whiteboys in Munster. Dublin, 1762.

of the existence of a Popish plot, to bring in the French and the pretender. They were well compared by Dr. Curry to Oates and his corps; except that it pleased God to defeat their machinations, with less loss of life than followed the earlier "discoverers." Father Sheehy was fixed upon as their first victim: largely connected with the minor gentry, educated in France, young, popular, eloquent, and energetic, a stern denouncer of the licentious lives of the squires, and of the exacting tithes of the parsons, he was particularly obnoxious. In 1763, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, for drilling and enrolling Whiteboys, but was acquitted. Towards the close of that year, Bridge, one of the late witnesses against him, suddenly disappeared. A charge of murder was then laid against the priest of Clogheen, and a prostitute named Dunlea, a vagrant lad named Lonergan, and a convicted horse stealer called Toohey, were produced in evidence against him, after he had lain nearly a year in prison, heavily fettered. On the 12th of March, he was tried at Clonmel, on this evidence; and notwithstanding an *alibi* was proved, he was condemned and beheaded on the third day afterwards. Beside the old ruined church of Shandragan his well-worn tomb remains till this day. He died in his thirty-eighth year. Two months later, Edward Sheehy, his cousin, and two respectable young farmers named Buxton and Farrell, were executed under a similar charge, and upon the same testimony. All died with religious firmness and composure. But their persecutors, with a single exception, met deaths violent, loathsome, and terrible. Maude died insane, Bagwell in idiocy, one of the jury committed suicide, another was found dead in a privy, a third was killed by his horse, a fourth was drowned, a fifth shot, and so through the entire list. Toohey was hanged for felony, the prostitute Dunlea fell into a cellar and was killed, and the lad Lonergan, after enlisting as a soldier, died of a loathsome disease in a Dublin infirmary.*

* Madden's United Irishmen, Second Series, vol. i. Introduction, p. lxxxiv.

In 1767, an attempt to continue the plot was made by the Tipperary magistrates, without success. Dr. McKenna, Bishop of Cloyne, was arrested but enlarged; Mr. Nagle, of Garnavilla, (a relative of Burke's,) Mr. Robert Keating, and several respectable Catholic gentlemen were also arrested. It appears that Edmund Burke was charged with having "sent his brother Richard (who died recorder of Bristol) and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a mission to Munster, to levy money on the Popish body for the use of the Whiteboys, who were exclusively Papists."* The second batch of indictments was thrown out by the grand jury, and so that plot exploded.

Contemporaneous with the Whiteboys were the northern agrarians called "Hearts of Steel," formed among the absentee Lord Downshire's tenants, in 1762; the "Oak Boys," so called from wearing oak leaves in their hats; and the "Peep o'Day Boys." The infection of conspiracy ran through all Ireland, and the disorder was neither shortlived nor trival. Rightboys, Defenders, Orangemen, and Ribbonmen descended from the same evil genius, (whoever he was,) who first introduced the system of signs, grips, passwords, and midnight meetings, among the brave and pious peasantry of Ireland. The celebrated society of United Irishmen was the highest form which that principle, in our politics, ever reached. In its origin, it was a purely Protestant organization.

From the first, the Catholic bishops and clergy strenuously opposed these secret societies. In 1762, the Bishop of Cloyne issued a reprobatory pastoral against them; in 1779, the Bishop of Ossory did likewise. Priests in Kildare, Kilkenny, and Munster were in personal danger from these midnight legislators; their chapels had been frequently nailed up, and their bishops had been often obliged to remove them, from fear of consequences.† The infatuation was not to be stayed:

* Sir R. Musgrave's, Rebellion of 1798.

† Debates in the Irish Parliament, 1786. The celebrated Father Arthur O'Leary commenced his career of authorship by attempts to reason with the Whiteboys. The trial of Redmond Sheehy, he says

the best friends of the misguided people prayed and exhorted in vain; the emissary, the informer, and the hangman rejoiced, and reaped a harvest, at every season of the year. We should not wonder to find Edmund Burke speaking of "the savage period between 1761 and 1767," as the most disastrous and oppressive that Irish Catholics had experienced within his memory.

In these momentous years, the sect called Methodists first appeared in Ireland. It originated at Oxford College, with Charles Wesley and some others, who, by the precision and austerity of their demeanor, received this title. Their practices were spread abroad chiefly by George Whitefield, John Wesley, and Adam Clarke, and soon assumed the form of a dogmatic creed. Their doctrines, in many points, were repetitions of the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican establishment; but on the great question of grace they differed from those articles, and differed among one another. Whitefield held Calvin's doctrine of the absolute predestination of the elect; while Wesley held, with Arminius, that God had elected from the beginning those only whom he foresaw would persevere to the end. The Wesleyans were the most numerous among the Protestants of Ireland. In 1747, John Wesley paid a flying visit to Dublin and Munster, and left his brother Charles behind to complete the organization. Charles remained for nearly a year preaching in the capital, at Cork, and Bandon, "with great unction and success," as he has it. Among the small number of the Irish "elect" was Dr. Adam Clarke, a native of Derry, and a very learned man, and Mr. Thomas Walsh, who induced Wesley to adopt those views of grace which led to the division of the sect. "Such a master of biblical knowledge," says Wesley, "I never knew before, and never hope to see again." Walsh's accomplishments, if the panegyric is not overdone, were certainly extraordinary. He was admitted as a preacher in 1750, and died in 1759. He "sometimes preached in Irish, but mostly in English."

---

was "the first paper" he read "after landing in Cork, from France," where he was educated. This fixes his return to Ireland in 1766 or 1767.

In 1775, John Wesley revisited Ireland, and preached chiefly in Ulster. Falling sick there, he soon returned to England.

From April till July, 1757, George Whitefield "preached nearly eighty sermons," in Dublin, Athlone, Limerick, Cork, and Belfast. "I found," he writes, "through the many offences that have lately been given, matters were brought to a low ebb. But the cry now is, 'Methodism is revived again.'" Again: "Numbers are converted, not only from Popery, but to Jesus Christ." We discover that neither Wesley nor Whitefield adduces the names of those converts who had *experienced* their revelation; and hence we conclude, that these general assertions are not to be taken literally. Many recruits to Methodism were, no doubt, picked up upon the outskirts of the older Protestant sects, but few or none in the Catholic ranks.*

* Whitefield died in 1770; Charles Wesley in 1788; John Wesley in 1791. The whole number of Methodists in Ireland, at the census of 1851, was 20,040.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND CATHOLIC COMMITTEE FORMED. — CONCESSIONS IN 1774 AND 1778. — SECESSION OF "LORD KENMARE AND THE SIXTY-EIGHT." — JOHN KEOGH, LEADER OF THE CATHOLICS. — MANAGEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE. — COÖPERATION OF EDMUND BURKE. — GENERAL DISCUSSION OF CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND. — ARTHUR O'LEARY. — BURKE AND TONE. — LONDON RIOTS OF 1780. — IRISH CATHOLIC CONVENTION ELECTED. — THEIR DELEGATES PRESENTED TO GEORGE III., AND DEMAND TOTAL EMANCIPATION. — RELIEF BILL OF 1793. — POLITICAL REACTION.

Though the intentions of the Irish Parliament towards the Catholics in 1762 were defeated by the king in council, the party in favor of justice and toleration was steadily on the increase. The judicious conduct of the bishops, the influence of the Dublin press, and the growing nationality of the patriot party, were so much gained. Every day new reasons for relief were discovered. When Canada was ceded by the treaty of Paris, it was well said to the rulers who accepted it, "You tolerate Catholics in Canada; why not in Ireland?" When trade reports represented the drain of specie by excess of imports and the insolvency of the banks, it was well said again, "Why do you condemn four fifths of the people to a condition in which they become a load and a burden rather than a strength to the nation?" When rumors of hostile intentions on the part of France and Spain were repeated, the cry was, "Liberate the Catholics, and they will be your best allies in a defensive war." This idea had advanced from a secondary to a first consequence in the minds of a large number of thinking men, and no question of the day arose but they, in one way or other, made it a text for discussing the claims of the Catholics. At this favorable juncture, an attempt, in 1773, of the corporation of Dublin and other cities, to impose a local tax exclusively on Catholics, under the name of quarterage, stimulated the formation of the society known as the general committee of the Irish Catholics.

Lords Kenmare, Fingal, and some other country gentlemen were the most important of the movers in this body; but another class of great intelligence and activity was formed by the Catholic merchants. A voluntary fund was subscribed, in which the merchants were not behind the gentry; a treasurer (Mr. Dermot) was appointed, and an honorary secretary, (Mr. Richard McCormick,) both from among the merchants. By this committee Lord Kenmare was sent over to London to communicate with the friends of the Catholics there, and to ascertain the sentiments of the king and ministers. His lordship established a good understanding with Mr. Burke, Sir George Saville, Lord Mansfield, and other friends of toleration in Parliament, as well as with the chiefs of the English Catholics, clerical and lay, who, at that very time, were bestirring themselves to recover their civil rights. The expenses of Lord Kenmare on this mission, amounting to £1500, were disbursed by the committee at Dublin.* One immediate result was, to raise the consideration of the Irish Catholics at home. The "act to enable all classes of his majesty's subjects to testify their allegiance to him" — in other words, modifying the oath of allegiance so that Catholics might freely take it — was passed in the spring of 1774. A little later Lord Buckinghamshire *permitted* a deputation to present him with a truly humble petition to be forwarded to the king, and so the wedge was entered. "There it goes," cried Anthony Malone, as the first relief bill passed, "and I am heartily glad of it, for now the whole system must come down."†

The right of petition, being implied in that of "testifying allegiance," was at once acted upon by those concerned. A painfully-affecting document was that which the viceroy condescended to receive from the hands of Lord Fingal, the Hon. Mr. Preston, and Mr. Dermot. Its prayer was strictly confined to the removal of disabilities affecting real property. The petitioners state, —

* Tone's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 483.
† Life of Grattan, vol. i.

"We are, may it please your majesty, a numerous "and very industrious part of your majesty's subjects; "and yet by no industry, by no honest endeavors on our "part, is it in our power to acquire or to hold almost "any secure or permanent property whatsoever; we "are not only disqualified to purchase, but are disabled "from occupying, any land, even in farm, except on a "tenure extremely scanted both in profit and in time; "and if we should venture to expend any thing on the "melioration of land thus held, by building, by enclosure, "by draining, or by any other species of improvement, so "very necessary in this country, so far would our services "be from bettering our fortunes, that these are precisely "the very circumstances which, as the law now stands, "must necessarily disqualify us from continuing those "farms for any time in our possession.

"Whilst the endeavors of our industry are thus dis- "couraged, (no less, we humbly apprehend, to the detri- "ment of the national prosperity and the diminution of "your majesty's revenue than to our particular ruin,) "there are a set of men, who, instead of exercising any "honest occupation in the commonwealth, make it their "employment to pry into our miserable property, to drag "us into the courts, and to compel us to confess on our "oaths, and under the penalties of perjury, whether we "have in any instance acquired a property in the small- "est degree exceeding what the rigor of the law has ad- "mitted; and in such case the informers, without any "other merit than that of their discovery, are invested "(to the daily ruin of several innocent, industrious fam- "ilies) not only with the surplus in which the law is ex- "ceeded, but in the whole body of the estate and interest "so discovered; and it is our grief that this evil is likely "to continue and increase, as informers have, in this "country, almost worn off the infamy which in all ages "and in all other countries has attended their character, "and have grown into some repute by the frequency and "success of their practices.

"And this, most gracious sovereign, though extremely "grievous, is far from being the only or most oppressive

"particular in which our distress is connected with the "breach of the rules of honor and morality. By the "laws now in force in this kingdom, a son, however un- "dutiful or profligate, shall, merely by the merit of con- "forming to the established religion, deprive the Roman "Catholic father of that free and full possession of his "estate, that power to mortgage or otherwise dispose of "it, as the exigencies of his affairs may require; but shall "himself have full liberty immediately to mortgage or "otherwise alienate the reversion of that estate from his "family forever — a regulation by which a father, con- "trary to the order of nature, is put under the power of "his son, and through which an early dissoluteness is not "only suffered, but encouraged, by giving a pernicious "privilege, the frequent use of which has broken the "hearts of many deserving parents, and entailed poverty "and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent "families in this kingdom.

"Even when the parent has the good fortune to "escape this calamity in his lifetime, yet he has at his "death the melancholy and almost certain prospect of "leaving neither peace nor fortune to his children; for "by that law which bestows the whole fortune on the "first conformist, or, on nonconformity, disperses it "among the children, incurable jealousies and animos- "ities have arisen, a total extinction of principle and of "natural benevolence has ensued, whilst we are obliged "to consider our own offspring and the brothers of our "own blood as our most dangerous enemies; the bless- "ing of Providence on our families, in a numerous issue, "is converted into the most certain means of their ruin "and depravation: we are, most gracious sovereign, "neither permitted to enjoy the few broken remains of "our patrimonial inheritance, nor by our industry to "acquire any secure establishment to our families." *

To this petition (it was written by Edmund Burke) no answer was at that time returned. Almost the whole body of Catholics had taken the new oath of allegiance

* Parnell's History of the Penal Laws, pp. 111–113.

prescribed by the act of that year; the Munster bishops held a special synod in 1775, to explain and enforce it, and with Archbishop Butler at their head, set an example of publicly taking it. Father O'Leary and other Catholics preached and wrote in its maintenance, and by dint of a great display of loyalty, succeeded, at length, in attracting the further attention of the legislature. In this effort the American war helped them materially; it was remarked that, as the cause of the colonies progressed, so did that of the Catholics.

A bill granting concessions in relation to the holding of real estate was drawn, and had been much discussed by letter between Burke and the Catholic leaders and Mr. Perry, speaker of the Irish Commons House, who favored it. After much negotiation to and fro, and much sounding of the castle and the king, the bill passed in 1778,* another rumored French invasion and Burgoyne's surrender being principals to its passage; indeed, they might be called the proposer and seconder. By this law, Catholics were allowed to lend money on real estate mortgage, to lease land for a term of years not exceeding one thousand, (there was a majority of three against their holding in fee,) to hold lands devised to them, and to make demises as other owners of estates did. The principle of property — the fundamental rule of all fixed society — was thus restored. This was a great matter. Property is the first lesson which barbarism learns from civilization; it is the constitutional conservator of order and justice, the standard and the reward of industry and conduct. After two centuries of confiscation, the heirs of the reformers had to humble their crests, and restore that social principle of the right to acquire property which Elizabeth, Cecil, and Cromwell, Ormond, and William III. had so laboriously endeavored to strike out of the hearts of the Irish Catholics. Many of this class, at home and abroad, had amassed large sums of money, and after the law of 1778, stepped eagerly into the markets,

* In 1774 passed what, in strict construction, might be called the first relief bill — the "act to enable all classes of his majesty's subjects to testify their allegiance to him."

and purchased the estates of insolvent Protestant proprietors. A few years later, we find the result in the extended ranks and influence of the Catholic gentry. At the close of the century, they had recovered one fifth of the real estate of the whole kingdom.

The general politics of the empire were at this period the best auxiliary of the Catholics and of the patriot party. In 1776, the army was withdrawn from Ireland to serve in America; the next year the volunteers were organized; the next, Burgoyne's surrender was celebrated in the streets of Dublin; in 1779, the combined fleets of France and Spain appeared in the Channel, and Ireland demanded "free trade" — the freedom of her exports and imports from English restrictions. While Arthur O'Leary exhorted the Munster peasantry to loyalty, Henry Grattan draughted the resolutions of Dungannon, where one hundred and forty-three Protestant regiments *resolved*, "that no power on earth, save the King, Lords, "and Commons of Ireland," could of right legislate for it. Besides the political declaration, there was another (passed with only two dissentient voices) in these words: "that, as Christians and Protestants, they rejoiced in the "relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Cath- "olic fellow-subjects, and that they conceived the "measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences "to the union and prosperity of Ireland." A few days later, the Catholic question came up in the House of Commons, on Mr. Gardiner's bill, which proposed to give the Catholics *five* concessions: 1. The right to hold land in fee simple. 2. The free exercise of their religion. 3. Freedom of education. 4. To legalize Catholic marriages. 5. To give them the right to bear arms, and join the militia. The debate commenced on the first proposition, which Wynne, Rowley, and St. George, of the castle, opposed, and which Grattan, Flood, Langrishe, and Daly defended. The first and third clauses were embodied into law and passed, but the second, fourth, and fifth were omitted. The additional property and intelligence acquired under this statute materially increased the Catholic strength and influence.

Two months later, the independence of the Irish Parliament was admitted by the solemn act of the king and the British Parliament; in 1783, '84, '85, '86, and '87, the Parliament was exclusively occupied by constitutional and commercial questions of pressing importance; simple repeal, the new tariff, and the marine laws; finally, the regency question excluded for a time the discussion of all other topics. In the spring of 1788, the subject of the tithe of potatoes levied on the cotters of the south came up, and Grattan made those two wonderful speeches on that subject which stand above comparison with any thing of the kind in our language. To that extent, tithe was abolished, though the principle was not touched thereby.

The successes of 1778 and 1782 were not followed up with spirit and vigor by the Catholics. When, in 1783, a convention favorable to a reform in Parliament, and well disposed towards the Catholics, met at the Rotunda, in Lord Kenmare's name, Sir Boyle Roche said, that his lordship and the Catholic body were well content with the concessions they had got, and had no intention of further efforts. This statement gave great offence to many Catholics, especially those of Dublin. A further attempt of the same nobleman to induce the committee to call on Catholics to withdraw from the volunteer forces led to a discussion, and discussion led to secession. Failing to carry a series of resolutions, including both his propositions, Lord Kenmare and his friends retired. They published their documents as a protest, signed with sixty-eight names, chiefly country gentlemen connected with the Catholic peers. Three or four bishops also signed it.

The committee was thus left in the hands of the Dublin merchants, of whom the principal were Edward Byrne,* Richard McCormick, and John Keogh. Keogh was, unquestionably, a powerful man: a native of the west of Ireland, he had made by trade a vast fortune,

* Byrne was a wine merchant, and paid one hundred thousand pounds a year duty to the government. See Grattan's speech on the Catholic claims, in 1793.

lived in most hospitable style at Mount Jerome, near the city; had friends in every town and village throughout the land; was a donor to all Catholic charities, and high in the confidence of the majority of the bishops. Add to this, abilities and judgment of a high order, a fluent address, a fertile invention, a sober judgment, an endless energy, and a passion for politics: such was John Keogh. In the long line of Irish agitators, it would be hard to find another character so memorable for disinterested and solid services.

To insure the transaction of business, a sub-committee of twelve, chiefly resident in Dublin, was chosen out of "the general committee," which included every Catholic bishop, merchant, or gentleman, who subscribed to its rules. The sub-committee were to act for them; the general committee to be convened only on special occasions. To the latter, Richard McCormick was honorary secretary; to the former, Theobald McKenna, and afterwards Richard Burke, son of the illustrious statesman. A regular agent was maintained at London, "a professional gentleman of great respectability," to whom, from time to time, remuneration to the amount of "upwards of two thousand pounds" was remitted. This agent was succeeded by Richard Burke, who, during 1791, attended on the committee in Dublin. In 1792, Mr. Burke's services were dispensed with, and a present of fifteen hundred guineas made to him. In July of that year, Theobald Wolf Tone was chosen secretary, at a salary of two hundred pounds per year. He held the office nearly three years, and resigned on leaving for America.

This is the period at which to acknowledge the great services rendered to the Catholic cause by Edmund Burke. Born in Dublin, in 1730, educated partly in Kildare and partly in Cork, he spent his first twenty-five years of life in his native land. A sickly and studious youth, he read, observed, and reflected much: the son of a Catholic mother, and the husband of a Catholic wife, his affections, as well as his philosophy, made him tolerant. In 1765, he had prepared his Tract on the Popery Laws. In 1767, we find him assisting the defenceless

gentlemen charged with Whiteboyism at Clonmel. He made three visits to Ireland at that "savage period;" his election to the English Parliament did not in the least turn him aside from this, one of his cardinal points of public conduct. In 1774, he drew the petition for, and labored to push through, the bill then proposed. In 1778, in his place in Parliament, he declared openly for emancipation. In 1782, he wrote his noble letter on the penal laws to Lord Kenmare. We might stop at this point, and honor him for the debt then due. But we must not fail to add that, from that time until his death, he never lost a session of Parliament, or any public or private opportunity, of serving the Catholics;* that he gave his beloved son to them as a secretary, and that the last work of his hand was done for their liberation.

In 1778, a relief bill had been enacted at London, very similar to that passed in Ireland, and soon after, the English Catholics, from the example of their Irish brethren, had formed a committee to petition Parliament. The recognition of their civil existence, and this determination on their part to assert their rights, led to a counter Protestant movement,† and to a warm discussion of their principles through the press of both countries. Early and conspicuous in this controversy was John Wesley, who, in 1780, published two letters on "the civil principles of the Roman Catholics," in which he maintained "that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion;" "that they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mahometan, or pagan." The same year, in his Defence of the Protestant Association, he exhorted all Englishmen to act as one man with Lord George Gordon, "to stop the progress of that soul-deceiving and all-destroying superstition, which threatens to overspread the land." As a reply to Wes-

* See Letters to Sir Hercules Langrishe, M. P. — to William Smith, M. P. — to Thomas Burgh, M. P. — to Richard Burke, Esq., (his son) — and other papers on this subject, in Burke's Works and Correspondence.

† Eighty "Protestant Associations" existed in England and Scotland in 1780.

ley, Dr. Coppinger, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, published his Principles of Catholics, a tract usually bound up with the prayer books in use among our fathers and grandfathers. This pamphlet ran through six editions in a short time from its first appearance. A better-known reply was made by Father Arthur O'Leary, who chiefly dealt with the charge that Catholics believed "no faith ought to be kept with heretics." For point, humor, and force, O'Leary's letter to Wesley, and his rejoinder to Wesley's reply, are among the treasures of our language. Even Irish political literature, rich and varied as it is, has nothing of the kind to surpass, hardly any thing to dispute rank with them. His invitation to Mr. Wesley to visit him in Munster is a fair specimen of these letters.

"Mr. Wesley may consider me as a fictitious charac-
"ter; but, should he follow his precursor, (I mean his
"letter, wafted to us over the British Channel,) and, on
"his mission from Dublin to Bandon, make Cork his
"way, Dr. Berkely, parish minister, near Middleton,
"Captains Stanner, French, and others, who were pris-
"oners of war, in the same place and at the same time,
"can fully satisfy him as to the reality of my existence,
"in the line already described; and that in the beard
"which I then wore, and which, like that of Sir Thomas
"More, never committed any treason, I never concealed
"either poison or dagger to destroy my Protestant neigh-
"bor; though it was long enough to set all Scotland
"in a blaze, and to deprive Lord G—— G—— of his
"senses.

"Should any of the Scotch missionaries attend Mr.
"Wesley into this kingdom, and bring with them any
"of the stumps of the fagots with which Henry VIII.,
"his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and the learned
"James I., roasted the heretics of their times in Smith-
"field, or some of the fagots with which the Scotch
"saints, of whose proceedings Mr. Wesley is become
"the apologist, have burned the houses of their inoffen-
"sive Catholic neighbors, we will convert them to their
"proper use. In Ireland, the revolution of the great Pla-

" tonic year is almost completed. Things are reinstated " in their primitive order. And the fagot, which, with- " out any mission from Christ, preached the gospel by " orders of Catholic and Protestant kings, is confined to " the kitchen. Thus what formerly roasted the man at " the stake now helps to feed him; and nothing but the " severity of winter, and the coldness of the climate in " Scotland, could justify Mr. Wesley in urging the rabble " to light it. This is a bad time to introduce it amongst " us, when we begin to be formidable to our foes, and " united amongst ourselves. And, to the glory of Ireland " be it said, we never condemned but murderers and per- " petrators of unnatural crimes to the fagot."

He portrays Lord George Gordon, in a sentence, as "a lord with his hair cropped, a Bible in his hand, turned elder and high priest at the age of twenty-three, and fainting for the *ark of Israel*." This correspondence occurred in January and February, and the Protestant riots followed in the month of June. From the first day of that month till the nineteenth, London was in the hands of a fanatical mob, whose Protestant exploits are thus recorded in the Annual Register of the same year: —

" Every body knows the circumstances, as well as the " event, of this shameful and unhappy affair; and that " Lord George Gordon, who had been early placed at the " head of the Scotch association for the support of the " Protestant religion, was likewise appointed president " to an association in London, formed in imitation or " emulation of the former. The public summons in " the newspapers, by which he assembled fifty or sixty " thousand men in St. George's Fields, under an idea of " defending the religion of the country against imaginary " danger, by accompanying the presentment, and enfor- " cing the matter of a petition to Parliament, demanding " the repeal of the late law, which afforded some relaxa- " tion of the penal statutes against Popery, are likewise " fresh in every body's memory.

" The extraordinary conduct of that noble person in " the House of Commons, during the present session, and

" the frequent interruptions which he gave to the busi-
" ness of Parliament, as well by the unaccountable man-
" ner in which he continually brought in and treated
" matters relative to religion, and the danger of Popery,
" as the caprice with which he divided the house, upon
" questions wherein he stood nearly or entirely alone,
" were passed over, along with other singularities in his
" dress and manner, rather as subjects of pleasantry than
" of serious notice or reprehension. Even when he in-
" volved matters of state with those of religion, in a
" strange kind of language, boasting that he was at the
" head of a hundred and twenty thousand able men in
" Scotland, who would quickly remedy their own griev-
" ances, if they were not otherwise redressed, and little
" less than holding out destruction to the crown and gov-
" ernment, unless full security was given to the associa-
" tions in both countries, against those imminent dangers
" with which they were immediately threatened by
" Popery — such things, and others, if possible, still more
" extraordinary, were only treated merely as objects of
" laughter. It is, however, possible that this careless-
" ness, or complacence of the house, was at length car-
" ried too far.

" Besides the advertisements and resolutions, the in-
" flammatory harangue of the president, at the preceding
" meeting of the Protestant association, was published
" in the newspapers, and was full of matter, which might
" well have excited the most instant attention and alarm.
" In that piece, the president informs his enthusiastic ad-
" herents, among other extraordinary matter, that, for his
" part, he would run all hazards with the people; and,
" if the people were too lukewarm to run all hazards
" with him, when their conscience and their country called
" them forth, they might get another president; for he
" would tell them candidly, that he was not a lukewarm
" man himself; and if they meant to spend their time in
" mock debate and idle opposition, they might get another
" leader. He afterwards declared, that if he was at-
" tended by less than twenty thousand, on the appointed
" day, he would not present their petition; and he gave

" orders, under the appearance of a motion, for the man-
" ner in which they should be marshalled in St. George's
" Fields; appointing that they should be formed in four
" bodies, three of them regulated by the respective boun-
" daries of the great divisions of the metropolis, and
" the fourth composed entirely of his own particular
" countrymen. To prevent mistakes, the whole were to
" be distinguished by blue cockades. If this were not
" sufficient to arouse the attention of government, Lord
" George Gordon gave notice to the House of Commons,
" on the Tuesday, that the petition would be presented
" on the following Friday, and that the whole body of
" Protestant associators were to assemble in St. George's
" Fields, in order to accompany their petition to the
" house.

" These notices ought to have given a more serious
" alarm than they seem to have done to government.
" The opposition afterwards charged them with little less
" than a meditated encouragement to this fanatic tumult
" in order to discountenance the associations which had
" more serious objects in view, and to render odious and
" contemptible all popular interposition in affairs of state.
" They reminded them of their activity in giving orders
" to hold the military in readiness, on a peaceable meet-
" ing in Westminster Hall, and their utter neglect of the
" declared and denounced violence of this sort of people.

" The alarming cry against Popery, with the continual
" invective and abuse which they disseminated through
" newspapers, pamphlets, and sermons, by degrees drew
" over to a meeting, originally small and obscure, a num-
" ber of well-meaning people, from the various classes
" of Protestants, who seriously apprehended their reli-
" gion to be in danger. These, however deficient they
" were in point of consideration, being, for the far great-
" er part, poor and ignorant people, many of whom
" could not write their names, became formidable with
" respect to numbers. It is, however, to be at all
" times remembered that the conduct of these associa-
" tors was not more execrated than the intolerant princi-
" ple, to which they owed their union and action, was

" condemned by the sound and eminent divines, both of " the established church and of the dissenters.

" On the 2d of June, the grand division of associators, " being drawn off, by different routes, from the rendez- " vous of St. George's Fields, filled the ways through " which they marched in ranks with a multitude which " excited wonder and alarm. Having arrived at the " place of their destination, and filled up all the streets " and avenues to both houses, they began the exercise of " the new authority, derived from their numbers, only by " compelling the members, as they came down, to cry " out, 'No Popery;' to wear blue cockades; and some, " as it is said, to take an oath to contribute all in their " power to the repeal of the new law, or, as they called " it, the Popery act. But, upon the appearance of the " Archbishop of York, and other of the prelates and " court lords, their rage and violence were increased to " the highest pitch. During this dreadful tumult, which " continued, with more or less interruption, for some " hours, the archbishop, the Duke of Northumberland, " the lord president of the council, with several others " of the nobility, including most or all of the lords in of- " fice, were treated with the greatest indignities. The " Bishop of Lincoln, in particular, most narrowly escaped " with his life; first by being suddenly carried into a " house, upon the demolition of his carriage, and then " being as expeditiously led through, and over its top, " into another. Lord Stormont's life was also in the " most imminent danger; and he was only rescued, after " being half an hour in their hands, by the presence of " mind and address of a gentleman who happened to be " in the crowd.

" It would be impossible to describe the astonishment, " sense of degradation, horror, and dismay, which pre- " vailed in both houses. Attempts were twice made to " force their doors, and were repelled by the firmness " and resolution of their doorkeepers and other officers. " In this scene of terror and danger, the resolution and " spirit with which a young clergyman, who acted as as- " sistant, or substitute, to the chaplain of the House of

" Commons, rebuked the outrage of the mob, and told " their leader, in their presence, that he was answerable " for all the blood that would be shed, and all the other " fatal consequences that might ensue, merited some " other reward besides mere applause.

" In the mean time, the author, mover, and leader of " the sedition, having obtained leave, in the House of " Commons, to bring up the petition, afterwards moved " for its being taken into immediate consideration. This " brought on some debate; and the rioters being in pos- " session of the lobby, the house were kept confined, for " several hours, before they could divide upon the ques- " tion. The impediment being at length removed by " the arrival of the magistrates and guards, the question " was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of one " hundred and ninety-two to six only, by whom it was " supported. During this time, Lord George Gordon " frequently went out to the top of the gallery stairs, " from whence he harangued the rioters, telling them " what passed in the house; that their petition would be " postponed; that he did not like delays; and repeating " aloud the names of gentlemen who had opposed the " taking it into consideration under their present circum- " stances; thus, in fact, holding them out as obnoxious " persons, and enemies, to a lawless and desperate ban- " ditti.

" The House of Commons have been much censured, " for the want of resolution and spirit in not immedi- " ately committing, upon the arrival of the guards at " night, their own member to the Tower, who had, by so " shameful a violation of their privileges, involved them " in a scene of such unequalled danger and disgrace. It " has even been said that a measure of such vigor might " have prevented all the horrid scenes of conflagration, " plunder, military slaughter, and civil execution that " afterwards took place; and it has been argued, from " the passive conduct of the mob, some years ago, upon " the committal of the Lord Mayor Crosby and of Alder- " man Oliver to the Tower, that it would not have been " attended with any ill consequence.

" It is, however, to be remembered, that danger is " considered in a very different manner by those who are " entirely out of its reach, and even by the same persons " under its immediate impression. The circumstances " were likewise widely and essentially different. Reli- " gious mobs are, at all times, infinitely more dangerous " and cruel than those which arise on civil or political " occasions. What country has not groaned under the " outrages and horrors of fanaticism? or where have " they ever been quelled but in blood? This mob was " much more powerful and numerous, as well as danger- " ous, than any other in remembrance. The force of the " associates was, on that day, whole and entire, which it " never was after. The intense heat of the weather, " which necessarily increased their inebriation, added fire " to their religious fury; and rendering them equally " fearless and cruel, no bound could have been prescribed " to their enormities.

" The situation of the lords was still worse than that " of the commons. Besides that the malice of the riot- " ers was pointed more that way, they were not under " the restraint of any application to them for redress. " The appearance of the lords, who had passed through " their hands, every thing about them in disorder, and " their clothes covered with dirt, threw a grotesque air " of ridicule upon the whole, which seemed to heighten " the calamity. A proposal was made to carry out the " mace; but it was apprehended that peradventure it " might never return. In a word, so disgraceful a day " was never beheld before by a British Parliament.

" In the midst of the confusion, some angry debate " arose, the lords in opposition charging the ministers with " being themselves the original cause of all the mischiefs " that had already or might happen, by their scandalous " and cowardly concessions to the rioters in Scotland, " and, at the same time, calling them loudly to account " for not having provided for the present evil, of which " they had so much previous notice, by having the civil " power in readiness for its prevention. To this it was " answered, by a noble earl in high office, that orders had

" been given, on the preceding day, for the attendance " of the magistrates; but two of those gentlemen, who " happened to be in the way, being sent for and exam- " ined, declared they had neither heard of nor received " any such order.

" Before the rising of the House of Commons, several " parties of the rioters had filed off, and proceeded to " the demolition of the chapels belonging to the Sardin- " ian and Bavarian ministers. The commons adjourned " to the 6th; but the lords met on the following day, " and agreed to 'a motion for an address,' made by the " lord president, 'requesting his majesty to give immedi- " ate orders for prosecuting, in the most effectual man- " ner, the authors, abetters, and instruments of the out- " rages committed the preceding day, both in the vicinity " of the houses of Parliament, and upon the houses and " chapels of several of the foreign ministers.' On the " 6th, above two hundred members of the House of " Commons had the courage, notwithstanding the dread- " ful conflagrations and mischiefs of the two preceding " nights, the destruction threatened to several of them- " selves, in their persons and houses, and which had al- " ready fallen upon the house of Sir George Saville, in " Leicester Fields, to make their way through the vast " crowds which filled the streets, and which were inter- " laced and surrounded by large detachments of the mil- " itary on foot and on horseback. They found West- " minster Hall, and the avenues to the house, lined with " soldiers; upon which a celebrated member observed " in his speech, bewailing the deplorable situation to " which Parliament was reduced, that they had a blud- " geoned mob waiting for them in the street, and a mili- " tary force, with fixed bayonets, at their doors, in order " to support and preserve the freedom of debate.

" They, however, passed some resolutions; one being " an assertion of their own privileges; the second, for a " committee to inquire into the late and present outrages; " and for the discovery of their authors, promoters, and " abetters; the third, for a prosecution by the attorney " general; and the fourth, an address to his majesty for

" the reimbursement of the foreign ministers to the " amount of the damages they had sustained by the riot- " ers. Another resolution was moved by the minister, " for proceeding immediately, when the present tumults " were subsided, to take into due consideration the peti- " tions from many of his majesty's Protestant subjects. " Intelligence being received of the conflagrations which " were commenced in the city, it threw every thing into " new confusion, and a hasty adjournment took place.

" Some of the lords likewise met; but the impropriety " of their proceeding upon any public business in the " present tumult, and surrounded by a military force, be- " ing taken into consideration, and an account arriving, " at the same time, that the first lord of the admiralty, " in his way to the house, had been set upon, wounded, " and his life only critically saved by the military, they " adjourned to the 19th.

" Never did the metropolis, in any known age, exhibit " such a dreadful spectacle of calamity and horror, or " experience such real danger, terror, and distress, as on " the following day and night. It is said that it was " beheld blazing in thirty-six different parts, from one " spot. Some of these conflagrations were of such a " magnitude as to be truly tremendous. Of these, the " jail of Newgate, the King's Bench prison, the new " Bridewell in St. George's Fields, the Fleet prison, and " the houses and great distilleries of Mr. Langdale in " Holborn, where the vast quantity of spirituous liquors " increased the violence of the flames to a degree of " which no adequate conception can be formed, presented " spectacles of the most dreadful nature. The houses " of most of the Roman Catholics were marked, and " many destroyed or burned, as well as those of the few " magistrates who showed any activity in repressing " those tumults. The outrages grew more violent and " general after the breaking open of the prisons.

" The attacks made that day upon the Bank roused " the whole activity of the government. Great bodies " of forces had, for some time, been collecting from all " parts. They were at length employed, and brought on

"the catastrophe of that melancholy night which followed. Strong detachments of troops being sent into "the city, and the attempts on the Bank and other "places renewed, a carnage then inevitably ensued, in "which a great number of lives were lost. Nothing "could be more dismal than that night. Those who "were on the spot, or in the vicinity, say that the present "darkness, the gleam of the distant fires, the dreadful "shouts in different quarters, the groans of the dying, and "the heavy, regular, platoon firing of the soldiers, formed "all together a scene so terrific and tremendous as no "description, or even imagination, could possibly reach.

"The metropolis presented on the following day, in "many places, the image of a city recently stormed and "sacked; all business at an end, houses and shops shut "up; the Royal Exchange, public buildings, and streets "possessed and occupied by the troops; smoking and "burning ruins; with a dreadful void and silence, in "scenes of the greatest hurry, noise, and business.

"The House of Commons met on the following day; "but, although the rioters were entirely quelled, it was "immediately noticed that the city of Westminster was "under martial law; and they accordingly adjourned to "the 19th. On the afternoon of the same day, Lord "George Gordon was taken into custody, at his house "in Welbeck Street, and conveyed to the Horse Guards; "and, after a long examination before several lords of "the privy council, he was, between nine and ten in the "evening, conducted (under the strongest guard that "ever was known to attend any state prisoner) to the "Tower." *

These fruits of the Protestant associations threw their cause, for a season, into such bad odor, that the discussion of Catholic principles was suspended. In 1786, it was revived by Woodward, Protestant Bishop of Cloyne, in an Address to the Nobility and Gentry of the Protestant Church, and another work, called the Present

* Annual Register for 1780. If not written by Burke, this account is a close imitation of his style.

State of the Church in Ireland. These appeals to half-exhausted prejudices were based upon four documents: I. The oath taken by Catholic bishops at their ordination. II. A letter of Monsignor Ghilini, Nuncio at Brussels, to the Irish bishops, written in 1768. III. The approbatory comments of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in publishing that letter in his Hibernia Dominicana. IV. The agrarian disturbances. Dr. Burke's ultramontane views were not general among the Irish bishops of his day. In 1775, the Munster prelates, in a synod at Thurles, had condemned his book, and on the appearance of Dr. Woodward's pamphlets, Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, in a letter to Lord Kenmare, (dated "Thurles, December 27, 1786,") emphatically repeated their previous sentence. Father O'Leary was again induced to appear as a controvertist, and his letters to Dr. Woodward equalled in point his letters to Wesley. His contrast of the Protestant bishops' oath with the Catholic, his comments on the Nuncio's letter, his proofs of the true origin of the agrarian outrages, and of the efforts of the Catholic prelates to suppress them, did great good in their day. His invariable good humor and good manners lent a charm to his style altogether new in such discussions.* This notable controversy materially advanced the Catholic cause. O'Leary was complimented by Grattan, in his place in Parliament, and elected a member of the club of St. Patrick, over which Curran presided: when he entered the reform convention, some years later, the volunteers presented arms. For his services in quelling the agrarian insurrection, the king allowed him a pension, coupled with the condition that he should reside in London. There, laboring among his poor countrymen, and waited upon by the literati and leaders of parties, he lived for several years, writing an occasional pamphlet, and collecting

* "Some years after, when a mutual friend invited him (Wesley) to meet his antagonist, Father O'Leary, it was gratifying to both parties to meet upon terms of courtesy and mutual good will." — Southey, *Life of Wesley.*

materials for a history of Ireland. His tomb is in St. Patrick's Church, Soho Square.

Notwithstanding all that had been written, the cause of the Catholics, in the third decade of George III., was at a low ebb. The secession of the sixty-eight was a practical loss; weak as they were, individually, the union of so many hereditary Catholic names had been of very great service to the committee. So long as they stood aloof, the committee could not venture to speak for *all* the Catholics; it could only speak for a part, though that part was nine tenths of the whole: this gave a doubtful and hesitating appearance, in those years, to all their proceedings. So low was their political influence, in 1791, that they could not get a single member of Parliament to present their annual petition. When, at last, it was presented, it was laid on the table for three days, and then literally kicked out.* To their further embarrassment, McKenna and some others formed "the Catholic Society," with the nominal purpose of spreading a knowledge of Catholic principles, through the press, but, covertly, to raise up a rival organization, under the control of the seceders. At this period John Keogh's talents for negotiation and diplomacy saved the Catholic body from another term of anarchical imbecility.

A deputation of twelve, having waited on the Irish secretary, with a list of the existing penal laws, found no intention, at the castle, of further concessions. They were "dismissed without an answer." Under these circumstances, the committee met at Allen's Court. "It was their determination," says Keogh, "to give up the cause as desperate, lest a perseverance in what they considered an idle pursuit might not only prove ineffectual, but draw down a train of persecution on the body." Keogh endeavored to rally them; proposed a delegation to London, to be sent at the expense of the committee;

* Mr. O'Neil, member of Parliament for Antrim, undertook it, but afterwards declined: it was subsequently presented late in the session.

offered, at last, to go at his own charge, if they authorized him. This proposal was accepted, and Keogh went. "I arrived in London," he adds, "without any introduction from this country, without any support, any assistance, any instructions."* He remained three months, converted Mr. Dundas, brought back with him the son of Burke as secretary, and a promise of four concessions: I. The magistracy. II. The grand juries. III. The sheriffs of counties. IV. The bar. Upon his return, the fullest meeting that had assembled since the Kenmare secession came together to hear his report, and take action accordingly.

---

* Keogh's account of his visit to London. Wyse's History of the Catholic Association, vol. ii. Appendix, No. V. Charles Butler tells a striking anecdote of Keogh's interview with Mr. Dundas. "On one occasion, he was introduced to the late Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. That eminent statesman was surrounded by several persons of distinction, and received the delegates with great good humor, but some state; a long conference ensued, and the result was not favorable to the mission of Mr. Keogh. After a short silence, Mr. Keogh advanced towards Mr. Dundas with great respect, and, with a very obsequious, but very solemn look, mentioned to him that 'there was one thing which it was essential for him to know, but of which he had not the slightest conception.' He remarked, 'that it was very extraordinary that a person of Mr. Dundas's high situation, and one of his own humble lot, (he was a tradesman in Dublin,) should be in the same room; yet, since it had so happened, and probably would not happen again, he wished to avail himself of the opportunity of making the important disclosure, but could not think of doing it without Mr. Dundas's express permission, and his promise not to be offended.' Mr. Dundas gave him this permission and promise; still Mr. Keogh was all humility and apology, and Mr. Dundas all condescension. After these had continued for some time, and the expectation of every person present was wound up to its highest pitch, Mr. Keogh approached Mr. Dundas in a very humble attitude, and said, 'Since you give me this permission, and your deliberate promise not to be offended, I beg leave to repeat, that there *is* one thing which you ought to know, but which you don't suspect · you, Mr. Dundas, know nothing of Ireland.'

"Mr. Dundas, as may be supposed, was greatly surprised; but with perfect good humor told Mr. Keogh that he believed this was not the case: it was true that he never had been in Ireland, but he had conversed with many Irishmen. 'I have drunk,' he said, 'many a good bottle of wine with Lord Hillsborough, Lord Clare, and the Beresfords. 'Yes, sir,' said Mr. Keogh, 'I believe you have; and that you drank many a good bottle of wine with them before you went to war with America.'"

At this meeting, the promises of the English government were contrasted with the dogged hostility of the castle. The necessity of a stronger organization, to overcome the one and hasten the other, was felt by all: it was then that they adopted a plan, proposed by Myles Keon, of Keonbrook, in Leitrim, to turn the committee into a convention. By this plan, the Catholics in each county and borough were called on to choose, in a private manner, certain electors, who were to elect two or more delegates, to represent the town or county in the general meeting at Dublin, on the 3d day of December following. A circular, signed by Edward Byrne, chairman, and Richard McCormick, secretary, explaining the plan and the mode of election, was issued on the 14th of January, and the Catholics every where prepared to obey it.

The corporations of Dublin and other cities, the grand juries of Derry, Donegal, Leitrim, Roscommon, Limerick, Cork, and other counties, at once pronounced most strongly against the proposed convention. They declared it "unconstitutional," "alarming," "most dangerous;" they said it was a copy of the National Assembly of France; they declared that they would "resist it to the utmost of their power;" they pledged "their lives and fortunes" to suppress it. The only answer of the Catholics was the legal opinion of Butler and Burton, two eminent lawyers, Protestants and king's councillors, that the measure was entirely legal. They proceeded with their selection of delegates, and at the appointed day the convention met. From the place of meeting, this convention was popularly called "the Back Lane Parliament."

After organizing, the convention proceeded (Mr. Byrne in the chair) to declare itself the only body competent to speak for the Catholics of Ireland. They next discussed the substance of the proposed petition to the king. The debate on this subject is in itself so interesting, and the account of it by Tone so graphic, that we insert here his report.

"The general committee next resolved, that a petition

" be prepared to his majesty, stating the grievances of " the Catholics of Ireland, and praying relief, and the " members of the sub-committee were ordered to bring " in the same forthwith, which being done, and the " petition read in the usual forms, it was again read, " paragraph by paragraph, each passing unanimously, " until the last. A spirited and intelligent member, " (Luke Teeling, Esq., of Lisburn, county Antrim,) who " represented a great northern county, then rose and said, " 'that he must object to this paragraph, on the ground " of its being limited in its demand. His instructions " from his constituents were to require nothing short of " total emancipation; and it was not consistent with the " dignity of this meeting, and much less of the great body " whom it represented, to sanction, by any thing which " could be construed into acquiescence on their part, " one fragment of that unjust and abominable system, " the penal code. It lay with the paternal wisdom of " the sovereign to ascertain what he thought fit to be " granted, but it was the duty of this meeting to put " him fully and unequivocally in possession of the wants " and wishes of his people.' He therefore moved, 'that, " in place of the paragraph then read, one should be in- " serted, praying that the Catholics might be restored to " the equal enjoyment of the blessings of the constitu- " tion.'

" It is not easy to describe the effect which that speech " had on the assembly. It was received with the most " extravagant applause. A member of great respect- " ability, and who had ever been remarked for a cautious " and prudent system in his public conduct, (D. T. " O'Brien, Esq., of Cork,) rose to declare his entire and " hearty concurrence in the spirit of the motion. 'Let " us not,' said he, 'deceive our sovereign and our constit- " uents, nor approach the throne with a suppression of " the truth. Now is our time to speak. The whole " Catholic people are not to be called forth to acquiesce " in the demand of partial relief.' The question would " now have been carried by acclamation, but for the in- " terposition of a member, to whose opinion, from his

" past services and the active part he had ever taken,
" the committee were disposed to pay every respect,
" (J. Keogh.) He said, 'that he entirely agreed with
" the spirit of the motion, and he was satisfied that they
" had but to ask and they should receive. But the
" meeting had already despatched a great deal of busi-
" ness, the hour was now late, and the question was of
" the very last importance.' 'Have you,' said the speak-
" er, 'considered the magnitude of your demand and the
" power of your enemies? Have you considered the dis-
" grace and the consequences of a refusal, and are you
" prepared to support your claim?' The whole assem-
" bly rose, as one man, and, raising their right hands,
" answered, 'We are.' It was a sublime spectacle.
" 'Then,' continued he, 'I honor and rejoice in a spirit
" which must render your success infallible; but let it
" not be said that you took up a resolution of this infi-
" nite magnitude in a fit of enthusiasm. Let us agree
" to retire. We meet again to-morrow. We will con-
" sider this question in the mean time, and, whatever be
" the determination of the morning, it will not be ac-
" cused of want of temperance or consideration.' This
" argument prevailed, and the meeting adjourned.

" But the business of the day was, perhaps, not less
" effectually promoted by the convivial parties which
" followed than by the serious debates which occupied
" the sitting of the committee. Those members resident
" in Dublin, whom it had been the policy of the enemies
" to Catholic emancipation to grossly malign and mis-
" represent in the remote parts of the kingdom, had
" taken care to offer the rites of hospitality to the dele-
" gates from the country. And, in unreserved commu-
" cation, both parties compared their common griev-
" ances, and mutually entered into each other's senti-
" ments. All distrust was banished at once, and a
" comparison of ideas satisfied them that their interests
" were one and the same, and that the only enemy to be
" dreaded was disunion among themselves. The dele-
" gate from Antrim, who sat beside the delegate from
" Kerry, at the board of their brother in the capital,

" needed but little argument to convince him that, as " the old maxim, 'Divide and conquer,' had been the " uniform rule of conduct with their common enemies, " so mutual confidence and union among themselves " were the infallible presage and most certain means of " securing their approaching emancipation. The attri- " tion of parties, thus collected from every district of the " kingdom, demolished in one evening the barriers of " prejudice, which art and industry, and the monopoliz- " ing spirit of corruption, had, by falsehood and soothing, " by misrepresentation and menaces, been laboring for " years, and but too successfully, to establish between " them.

" In this spirit the assembly met on the next day. " The business was opened by the same member (L. " Teeling) who had introduced the amendment. He " stated that it was the duty of the Catholics not to " wrong themselves by asking less than complete eman- " cipation; that it was also the idea of their friends in " the province from whence he came, and this coinci- " dence of sentiments would establish that union, from " which the Catholic cause had already derived such " essential benefit, and which had been found so formi- " dable to their enemies. Something had been insinuat- " ed about danger; he saw none: violence was not the " interest nor the wish of the meeting. 'But,' contin- " ued he, 'we have been asked what we will do in case " of a refusal. I will not, when I look around me, sup- " pose a refusal. But, if such an event should take " place, our duty is obvious. We are to tell our constit- " uents; and they, not we, are to determine. We will " take the sense of the whole people, and see what *they* " will have done.' Similar sentiments were avowed by " every member who followed him; and, on the question " being put, the amendment, praying for complete resti- " tution of the rights of the Catholics, was carried by " the unanimous acclamation of the whole assembly.

" It was not to be supposed that perfect secrecy could " be preserved in so numerous a meeting, or that the in- " dustry of the enemies to Catholic freedom should not

" be exerted in so important a crisis, and on so material " a question as that which was now determined with " such unanimity. On the morning of the day it was " whispered, that, if the prayer for complete emancipa- " tion was persisted in, a large number of the most " respectable country delegates would instantly quit the " meeting, and publish their dissent. Whether such a " measure was ever seriously intended or not is not accu- " rately known. Certainly, had it been carried into " execution, a secession of so formidable a nature would " have extremely embarrassed, if not totally destroyed, a " system which had cost so much time and labor to " bring to its present state. Be that as it may, such was " the force of virtuous example, so powerful the effect " of public spirit in an assembly uncontaminated with " places or pensions, and freely chosen by the people, " that not a murmur of dissent was heard; and a day " which opened with circumstances of considerable " doubt and anxiety terminated in the unanimous adop- " tion of the great principle which, whilst it asserted, " secured the emancipation of the Catholics.

" The prayer of the petition having been thus agreed " upon, it was proposed (by Mr. Fitzgerald) that the " signatures of the delegates should not be affixed until " the mode of transmission should be first determined. " The object of this motion was, obviously, to embar- " rass, and, if possible, to prevent, a measure which, " from the spirit of the meeting, it was more than sus- " pected would be tried. Apprehensions were entertained " that the usual form in presenting petitions would be " broken through, and that, by a direct application to " the throne, a very pointed mark of disapprobation " would be attached on the government of this country. " If to prevent administration from being exposed to " such an insult was the object of the motion, it failed " completely. The committee decreed, that the signing " the petition should precede all debate as to the mode " of transmission. And, not only so, but it was unani- " mously resolved, (on the motion of Mr. Edward " Sweetman, of Wexford,) that every delegate should

" instantly pledge himself to support, with his hand and " signature, the sense of the majority — an engagement " which was immediately and solemnly taken by the " whole assembly.

" The petition having been thus agreed upon and " signed, the important question arose as to the mode " of presenting it to his majesty. The usual method " had been to deliver all former addresses to the lord " lieutenant, who transmitted them to the king; and, " certainly, to break through a custom invariably con- " tinued from the first establishment of the general " committee, was marking, in the most decided manner, " that the Catholics had lost all confidence in the ad- " ministration of this country. But, strong as this " measure was, it was now to be tried. The petition " having been read for the last time, a spirited young " member, (Christopher Dillon Bellew, Esq., of Galway,) " whose property gave him much, and his talents and " virtues still more, influence in the assembly, and who " represented a county perhaps the first in Ireland for " Catholic property and independence, rose, and moved, " without preface, that the petition should be sent to " the foot of the throne, by a deputation to be chosen " from the general committee. He was seconded by a " delegate from a county adjacent to his own, (J. J. " McDonnell, of Mayo.)

" A blow of this nature, striking so directly at the " character, and almost at the existence, of the admin- " istration, could scarcely be let to pass without some " effort on their part to prevent it. As the attack had " been foreseen, some kind of a negotiation had been " attempted with individuals, who were given to under- " stand, that, if the petition was sent through the usual " channel, administration would instantly despatch it " by express, and back it with the strongest recommen- " dations. The negotiation was not yet concluded when " the dreaded motion was made, and, with some dif- " ficulty, the assembly agreed to wait half an hour for " the result of one more interview. There can hardly " be imagined a revolution more curious and unexpected

" than that which was occurring in the general com-
" mittee. The very men who, a few months before,
" could not obtain an answer at the castle, sat with
" their watches in their hands, minuting that govern-
" ment which had repelled them with disdain. At
" length the result of the interview was made known,
" and it appeared that the parties had either mistaken
" each other, or their powers, or the intentions of the
" administration, for it was stated by the member (Mr.
" Keogh) who reported it, that what had been supposed
" to be offered was merely a conversation between a
" very respectable individual and himself, but he had
" *nothing to communicate from any authority.* This,
" which the majority of the assembly considered, whether
" justly or not, as an instance of duplicity in adminis-
" tration, and as trifling with their own time and dig-
" nity, determined them to stigmatize, as far as in them
" lay, a government which they now looked upon as
" having added insult to injury. ' Will you,' cried the
" orator, (Keogh,) ' trust your petition with such men ? '
" The assembly answered with a unanimous, repeated,
" and indignant negative — ' No ! '

" Yet still a few individuals were found who started
" at the idea of fixing so gross an insult on administra-
" tion, (Messrs. McKenna, Fitzgerald, D. T. O'Brien.) It
" was suggested, rather than argued, that it was not per-
" haps respectful, even to majesty itself, to pass over with
" such marked contempt his representative in Ireland,
" and that the usual mode was the most constitutional,
" or, at least, the most conciliatory. But the spirit of
" the meeting was now above stooping to conciliate the
" favor of those whom they neither respected nor feared.
" The member who moved the question (Mr. C. Bellew)
" again rose to support it. He said he did not ground
" his motion merely on the insults which the Catholics,
" through their delegates, had so often received, but on
" this, that he had no confidence in men who kept no
" faith with Catholics, and the attempt of the present
" day had satisfied his mind. Faith had been broken,
" even with those gentlemen (Lord Kenmare and the

" sixty-eight) who, in support of administration, had se-
" ceded from their own body. The engagement entered
" into with them had been mutilated and curtailed. 'It
" has been said,' continued he, 'my plan is disrespect-
" ful to administration. I answer, it is intended to be so.
" It is time for us to speak out like men. We will not,
" like African slaves, petition our taskmasters. Our
" sovereign will never consider it disrespectful, that we
" lay before his throne the dutiful and humble petition
" of three millions of loyal and suffering subjects. For
" my part, I know I speak the sentiments of my county.
" I wish my constituents may know my conduct; and
" the measure which I have now proposed, I am ready
" to justify in any way.' These were strong expressions;
" they were followed by others no less energetic. 'We
" have not come thus far,' said a delegate from the west
" of Ireland, (Mr. McDermott, of Sligo,) 'to stop short in
" our career. Gentlemen tell us of the wounded pride
" of the administration. I believe it will be wounded,
" but I care not; I consider only the pride of the Catho-
" lics of Ireland.' The last attempt was now made to
" postpone the further consideration of the question until
" the next day; but this was immediately and powerfully
" resisted. 'We will stay all night, if necessary,' cried a
" spirited young member, (P. Russell, of Louth,) 'but this
" question must be decided before we part. If it go
" abroad that you waver, you are undone.' 'Let us
" mark,' cried another, (J. Edw. Devereux, Esq., of Wex-
" ford,) 'our abhorrence of the measures of our enemies,
" for they are the enemies of Ireland. The present ad-
" ministration *has not the confidence of the people.*' The
" whole assembly confirmed his words by a general ex-
" clamation, 'No! No!' 'Our allegiance and attach-
" ment are to King, Lords, and Commons, not to a bad
" ministry, who have calumniated and reviled us through
" the kingdom.' His assertions were ratified by repeated
" and universal plaudits.

" The question on the original motion was at length
" unanimously decided in the affirmative. By passing
" over the administration of their country, in a studied

" and deliberate manner, and on solemn debate, the " general committee published to all the world, that his " majesty's ministers in Ireland had so far lost the con- " fidence of no less than three millions of his subjects, " that they were not even to be intrusted with the de- " livery of their petition. A stigma more severe it has " not been the fortune of many administrations to receive.

" The general committee (December 7) proceeded to " choose, by ballot, five of their body, who should present " their petition to his majesty in person; and the gentle- " men appointed were Edward Byrne, John Keogh, " Christopher Dillon Bellew, James Edward Devereux, " and Sir Thomas French. The only instruction they " received was to adhere strictly to the spirit of the pe- " tition, and to admit nothing derogatory to the union, " which is the strength of Ireland. And this instruction, " for greater solemnity, was delivered to them, engrossed " on vellum, signed by the chairman, and countersigned " by the secretary of the meeting."

These delegates, accompanied by the secretary, resolved to go by Belfast and Scotland to London, "there being no packet boat ready" at Dublin, "and the wind being contrary." This accident did them no harm. Belfast was then the focus of the United Irishmen, and of the liberality of the north. The delegates were publicly received; their expenses were paid by the citizens, and their carriage drawn along in triumph on the road to Port Patrick.

Arrived at London, after much negotiation and delay with ministers, a day was fixed for their introduction to the king. It was Wednesday, the 2d of January, 1793. Standing before George III., ("who received them very graciously,") they put into his own hands the petition of their constituents, and after some compliments, withdrew.* In a few days, they were assured their case would be recommended in the next royal speech, and so leaving one of their number behind as "chargé d'affaires," they returned to Dublin, to report.

---

* See Appendix, No. IV., for this most interesting document, with all the signatures.

The castle again capitulated: the secretary, who, a year before, would not listen to a petition, now labored to fix a limit to concession. The demand of complete emancipation, unfortunately, (perhaps,) was not maintained in this negotiation as firmly as in the December debates. The news of the execution of the king of France; the efforts of the secret committee of the House of Lords to inculpate certain Catholic leaders in the United Irish system, and as patrons of the Defenders; the telling argument, that to press all was to risk all, — these causes combined to induce the sub-committee to consent to less than the convention had decided to insist upon. Negotiation was the strong ground of the government, and they kept it. Finally, the bill was introduced, and on the 9th day of April, 1793, it became the law of Ireland. "By one comprehensive clause," says Tone, "all penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, and incapacities are removed; the property of the Catholic is completely discharged from the restraints and limitations of the penal laws, and their liberty, in a great measure, restored, by the restoration of the right of elective franchise, so long withheld, so ardently pursued. The right of self-defence is established by the restoration of the privilege to carry arms, subject to a restraint, which does not seem unreasonable, as excluding none but the very lowest orders. The unjust and unreasonable distinctions affecting Catholics, as to service on grand and petty juries, are done away; the army, navy, and all other offices and places of trust are opened to them, subject to exceptions hereafter mentioned. Catholics may be masters or fellows of any college hereafter to be founded, subject to two conditions, that such college be a member of the university, and that it be not founded exclusively for the education of Catholics. They may be members of any lay body corporate, except Trinity College, any law, statute, or by-law of such corporation to the contrary notwithstanding. They may obtain degrees in the University of Dublin. These, and some lesser immunities and privileges, constitute the grant of the bill,

"the value of which will be best ascertained by referring "to the petition. From comparison, it will appear that "every complaint *recited* has been attended to; every "grievance *specified* has been removed. Yet the prayer "of the petition was for *general* relief. The bill is not "coëxtensive with the prayer. The measure of redress "must, however, be estimated by the extent of the pre-"vious suffering and degradation of the Catholics set "forth by themselves; and in this point of view, the bill "will undoubtedly justify those who admitted that it "afforded *solid and substantial relief*."

In truth it was a very great victory over the policy of the reformation. Catholics were still excluded from the high offices of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, and lord chancellor. What was much more important, they were excluded from sitting in Parliament — from exercising legislative power. Still the franchise, the juries, the professions, and the universities were important concessions. The ferocious penal code was a wreck from and after the 9th day of April, 1793.

In the same session of Parliament, "the convention act against representative assemblies" was passed, which is still the law in Ireland.

The sub-committee having met to return thanks to the parliamentary fathers of the bill, their own future operations became also a topic. Some members advised that they should add "reform" to their programme, as the remnant of the penal laws were not sufficient to interest and attract the people. Some would have gone much further than reform; some were well content to rest on their laurels. There were ultras, moderate men, and conservatives even in the twelve. The latter were more numerous than Wolfe Tone liked or expected. That ardent but rather unscrupulous politician had, indeed, at bottom, a strong dislike of the Catholic religion; he united himself with them because he needed a party; he remained with them because it gave him importance; but he used his position to further an ulterior design — an Irish revolution and republic on the French plan. The example of France became rather a terror than an attrac-

tion to older and wiser men than Tone. Edward Byrne, Sir Thomas French, and other eminent Catholics were openly hostile to any imitation of it, and the Catholic dinner at Daly's, to celebrate the passage of the late bill, was, in spirit, strongly anti-Gallican.*

Keogh, McCormick, and McNevin, however, joined the United Irishmen, and the two latter were placed on the directory. Keogh withdrew, when, in 1795, it first became a secret society.

The bishops, who had cheered on, rather than participated in, the late struggle, were well satisfied with the new relief bill as passed. They were, by education and conviction, conservatives. Dr. Plunkett of Meath, Dr. Egan of Waterford, Dr. Troy of Dublin, and Dr. Moylan of Cork, were the most remarkable for influence and ability at this period. Dr. Butler of Cashel, and his opponent, Dr. Burke of Ossory, the head of the brave old ultramontane section, were both recently deceased. With the exception of the apostate Dr. James Butler, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, who deserted his faith and order on becoming unexpectedly heir to an earldom, the Irish prelates of the reign of George III. were a highly-accomplished and devoted body. Lord Dunboyne's fall was the only cause of a reproach within their own ranks. That unhappy prelate made, many years afterwards, a death-bed repentance, was reconciled to his church, and bequeathed a large part of his inherited wealth to found the Bourse at Maynooth which bears his name.

* The patriots in Parliament were equally conservative. Grattan, Plunkett, &c., strongly supported the war; the radicals, on Sir Lawrence Parson's division, counted only *nine* votes.

CHAPTER IV.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE FOUNDED. — UNION OF DEFENDERS AND UNITED IRISHMEN. — INSURRECTION OF 1798. — FALSEHOODS CONCERNING CATHOLICS ENGAGED IN IT. — PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE UNION. — PITT AND THE BISHOPS. — THE ACT OF UNION; ITS RESULTS ON THE CATHOLIC CAUSE.

The French revolution, so fruitful of other changes, intimately affected the minds of men in Ireland. In 1792 and 1793, the Irish students began to abandon the French colleges, and the next year those colleges were confiscated to the state. At this period the Irish possessed three hundred and forty-eight bourses in France, and about one hundred and thirty in the two peninsulas. To have these sources of instruction suddenly closed against them was a loss which stimulated the Irish hierarchy to seek for some adequate substitute.

For several years previous, many men had advocated the necessity of native Catholic colleges. In 1792, Dr. Bellew had visited Dublin with a plan for a provincial college in Connaught. At the suggestion of Keogh and Tone, who consulted Kirwan, the philosopher, upon it, the bishop extended his plan so as to embrace the kingdom. Failing to procure the coöperation of Archbishop Troy, the proposal lapsed. About the same time, Edmund Burke was urging upon Pitt, with all his eloquence, the importance to the state of such an institution.

In 1794, the Irish bishops unanimously petitioned the government for "a royal license" to establish academies and seminaries for clerical education. The license was granted, and the Royal College of St. Patrick was begun at Maynooth, in Kildare, about a dozen miles from Dublin. During "the recess" of the legislature, the minister became convinced of the soundness of Burke's arguments, and in the next session, at the suggestion of the crown, the sum of eight thousand pounds per annum was voted, as a grant to the new institution. The vote (which was unanimous) was coupled with conditions,

that the students entering should take the oath of allegiance, and that a board of visitors, appointed by the crown, were to make an annual inspection of the college. The act of 35 George III. c. 21, was passed on the 5th of June, 1795, being the last day of the session. On the same day, in proroguing the Irish Parliament, the lord lieutenant observed that "a wise foundation had been laid for educating at home the Roman Catholic clergy."

Dr. Hussey, the intimate friend of Burke, and afterwards Bishop of Waterford,* was appointed first president; and learned professors, many of them refugees from the continental revolution, were presented to the several chairs of theology, philosophy, and science; and from that period until the present, St. Patrick's College has been steadily growing in power and in reputation.

An episode in Irish history, which for many years changed the whole course of Irish politics, next demands our attention: we allude to the union of Defenders and United Irishmen, which preceded and produced the insurrection of 1798.

Both of these associations originated in Ulster, and neither was, at first, secret. The Defenders originated in

---

* Dr. Thomas Hussey was one of the ablest men of the Irish church in his day. Educated (we believe) in a Spanish college, he made the tour of Europe as guardian of a young Englishman, son to Sir John Webb. At Paris, Vienna, and Rome, his talents and character were very highly esteemed. Returning to England, he became chaplain to the Spanish ambassador, and, in 1790, was appointed by the English Catholic committee their agent at Rome. The ambassador refusing to consent, he resigned that appointment, and, in 1795, was made president of Maynooth. He attended his friend Edmund Burke on his death bed, at Beaconsfield, two years later, and is stated to have received that illustrious man into the Catholic communion. "His eloquence in the pulpit," says Charles Butler, "was really great; but it rather subdued than satisfied the reason." Mentioning a particular sermon, on the small number of the elect, the same writer says, "During the whole of this apostrophe, the audience was agonized. At the ultimate interrogation there was a general shriek, and some fell on the ground. This was the greatest triumph of eloquence which the writer has chanced to witness." — *Memoirs of the Catholics*, vol. iv. p. 438. — He presided over Maynooth only a short time, was removed, partly through the representations of the ministry, but was soon after made Bishop of Waterford. He died early in the century, having a reputation among his contemporaries second to none for varied and cultivated abilities.

Down, about 1791, in opposition to the "Peep-o'-day Boys," whose rule was to serve Catholic tenants with midnight notices to quit their holdings, and choose "hell or Connaught" for their future residence. At first confined to the estate of Lord Downshire, they soon spread into Armagh, Monaghon, and Cavan, thence to Meath and Kildare, and thence southward. The United Irishmen originated at Belfast, where, in October, 1791, the first club was formed by Samuel Neilson, the brothers Simms, McCabe, Wolfe Tone, and some others. From Belfast the system spread to Dublin, where Oliver Bond, Richard McCormick, the elder Emmett, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other eminent men were admitted. About two thirds of the founders of this system were infidels of the French school. Their anniversaries, phraseology, and principles were all French.*

In 1793, it became necessary for the Catholic bishops to issue pastorals against the Defenders, and for the general committee at Dublin to condemn their riotous proceedings. Wolfe Tone, at this time secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, had imbibed revolutionary ideas at Belfast, and while publicly joining in these disclaimers of Defenderism, was privately working for a union between them and the United Irishmen. The facilities of his position enabled him to bring this design to some maturity in 1794, shortly before his forced exile to America. It was not without much difficulty the compact was made, nor did it hold together without continual tinkering. In 1793 in Louth and Cavan, in 1794 in Meath,

* If we look to the literature of the insurrection for proofs of its French principles, we will find them at every page. The oath of association does not express them, being couched in the following words: "I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in Parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavor, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and a union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which, every reform in Parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient to the freedom and happiness of this country."

and in 1795 in Armagh, the Catholics and sectaries were engaged in many hostile conflicts. These were got tolerably under by 1796; the two bodies were apparently one in 1797; the secret organization by districts, counties, and provinces, was complete; a French fuse alone was needed to explode the entire mine. This requisite being too long delayed gave occasion for the organization to be broken up piecemeal, and with every piece some fragment of the constitutional liberties of 1782 was torn away.

For two years the secret union had held together, in spite of imprisonment on suspicion, and the torture of hundreds to extract evidence. State trials for seditious and treasonable offences had been going on for four years; printers, writers, and orators, the Orrs, Finertys, and Drennans being the chief accused, and Curran, Emmett, Sampson, and McNally, the chief council for the defence. Clare, Castlereagh, and Carhampton goaded on the multitude, as eager for the banquet of blood as the ghosts that rose to drink of that shed in sacrifice to Pluto by Ulysses. Still waiting for France, the United Directory debated, until a final meeting was fixed for the 12th of March, 1798, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge Street, Dublin. On that night, Bond, O'Connor, and others were arrested, being betrayed by Thomas Reynolds, who held the rank of colonel in the insurrection. McNevin, Emmett, and Sampson were arrested in the course of a few days, and two months after, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was captured in his hiding-place in Thomas Street, after a desperate struggle. In April, Wexford county rose, and for three months fought against five armies, all concentrated on her heroic soil. In May, there were risings in Kildare and Wicklow, which commenced gallantly and successfully; at the same time, partial risings took place in Down and Antrim, in which great courage was shown. But the August sun went down on the ripened harvests of Clare, Castlereagh, and Carhampton. Four noble counties in Leinster and two in Ulster were disfigured from end to end with blood. Half a dozen priests and Presbyterian ministers perished in the com-

mon cause. Humbert's descent on Killala made Connaught a later participator in the lofty hopes and cruel realities of the insurrection. Scaffolds rose in every quarter of a suspected district; jails were choked with prisoners; convict ships groaned with exiles, sent to serve under the flag of Prussia, or to follow Abercrombie into Egypt. Tone came at last from France; too late to serve his cause, but not too late to perish heroically with it. Fitzgerald had preceded him, dying a prisoner; Emmett, McNevin, Sampson, O'Connor, were in Fort George, destined to die in America or France; Neilson, McCabe, Corbet, Sweetman, shared their fate, or anticipated their banishment. The winter days of 1798 were the saddest that for a century had darkened over Ireland.

The majority of the leaders in the insurrection of 1798 were undoubtedly Presbyterians and Protestants, who had imbibed French principles. Several Catholics acted cordially with them, and in the rising at least three clergymen actively coöperated — Fathers Philip Roche, Michael Murphy, and John Murphy. At Scullabogue and on Wexford Bridge, the Catholic peasantry did cruel execution on several prisoners, then defenceless. But the general character of the insurgents was merciful — too merciful for success. When we consider the provocations they had borne for nearly three years, we are surprised that a more general and merciless retaliation did not follow. In all their victories they spared the women and children, and usually the men. This all the contemporary records prove beyond question.*

* This merciful disposition of the Catholics was not reciprocated, either by the government troops or the Protestant yeomanry. The wantonness with which they shot down fugitives and unarmed individuals, the mutilation of the dead bodies, as at Arklow, contrast most unfavorably with the conduct of the Catholics when victorious. In the county of Wexford alone, above thirty Catholic chapels were destroyed by privileged incendiaries between the suppression of the insurrection and the end of the year 1801. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of the burglars by the grand jury of the county; but no evidence was obtained. In 1799, several leases of Catholics expired in that county, when notices were posted up by the Orange Society, declaring that "no Papist should presume to take the lands." "The lands of court," says Mr. Edward Hay, "thus proscribed, remained waste for nearly two years." In the

The position of the Irish Catholic rebels was an unnatural one. Their Ulster allies were, in general, prouder of the title citizen than of the title Christian; infidel France was to be their ally and sponsor. Wexford was another La Vendee; how, then, could it warm to the enemies of all religion? The opposition of the clergy and bishops, as a body, was another sad drawback upon their courage; for, though quite ready to risk their bodies, they wisely feared to risk their souls. It must be granted they behaved valiantly, and their descendants have no need to blush over the story of 1798; but, in such a confusion of political principles, it was well they failed. For their temporary disobedience of their pastors they were fearfully punished in the executions of 1799 and 1800.*

In those years the ministers at Dublin, in the intervals of military preparation, were zealously pushing on the old project of "legislative union." The Catholics, having become a social power since 1782, and a political power since 1793, entered, of course, into the calculations both of the patriot and the castle party. The Catholic committee had been compromised by the identification of so many of its members with the insurrection, and did not reassemble until 1805. Government, therefore, could only treat with the bishops on behalf of the whole community.

The remaining penal laws were left untouched since 1793. Two years later, Lord Fitzwilliam, the

---

same county, from the notorious prejudices of the jury class, "many prisoners preferred to be tried by a military rather than a civil tribunal." Courts martial continued to sit till 1802. — Hay, *Irish Rebellion*, p. 243 *et seq.* Dublin, Duffy, 1848.

* One effect of the failure of the insurrection was to break up altogether the political union of the Catholics and Presbyterians. The French principles upon which this union had been formed did not outlive, at the north or south, the seven years of martial law which followed 1798. The Belfast Propaganda, who organized with Tone, were either exiled, or dead, or disgusted with politics. Whenever they met, recriminations took place between the Catholic and Presbyterian revolutionists, each attributing to the other the chief blame of the failure. Twenty years later, it would be hard to tell which class was the more profuse in professions of unconditional loyalty.

viceroy, who had declared for their total abolition, was immediately recalled, and Lord Camden put in his place. On the 31st of January, 1799, Mr. Pitt introduced into the English Parliament the resolutions which he "proposed as the basis of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland." In that speech, alluding to the Irish Catholics, he said, "No man can say that, in the present state of things, while Ireland remains a separate kingdom, full concessions can be made to the Catholics without endangering the state and shaking the constitution to the centre." This was clearly holding out a hope of a change of laws when Ireland ceased to be "a separate kingdom." On the peace with Napoleon, when he retired from office for a time, he so explained it in his resignation speech. "I beg to have it understood to be a measure which, if I had remained in government, I must have proposed."

These intentions were conveyed more definitely to the Irish bishops by Lord Cornwallis, the viceroy, in 1799, and Lord Castlereagh, the secretary of state. Both ministers conveyed their sentiments in writing to Archbishop Troy, of Dublin. Mr. Pitt wrote, "They [the Catholics] may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success." Lord Cornwallis wrote, that the Catholics, "having so many characters of eminence *pledged not to embark* in the service of government, *except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained*," the Catholics ought, accordingly, to "prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanor to any line of conduct of an opposite description." It is certain that these assurances did induce the ten bishops who were trustees of Maynooth, in a meeting of their board, to express their confidence in the ministers then negotiating the legislative union: it also had the effect of bringing the Catholic hierarchy, instead of the laity, as formerly, into negotiation with the rulers of the state.

On the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1779, the bishops who were Maynooth trustees sat at Dublin, "to deliberate on a proposal from government for an

independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, under certain regulations not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just influence." A minute of this meeting, signed by the four archbishops and the Bishops of Meath, Cork, Kildare, Elphin, Ferns, and Ardagh, was approved and submitted to the ministers. The "certain regulations" were, in a word, to control the appointment of bishops; to give government "a veto" on bishops elect. The ten prelates just mentioned agreed to lay before government the names of the nominees, they undertaking to "transmit the name of said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for appointment to the holy see," within a month of receiving it. Further, the prelates agreed, "If government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof within one month after the presentation, who, in that case, will convene the electors to the election of another candidate." By this undertaking, Primate O'Reilly and the hierarchy, in 1799, granted to the state what Primate O'Reilly and the hierarchy, in 1666, suffered exile and death rather than concede. Fortunately for the Irish church, the state neglected to conclude the compact at that time, and in the synod of 1808, till the prelates, having reviewed the question, unanimously rejected both the state provision and the concession of "the veto" to the crown. In the synod of 1810, they renewed their recent declaration with additional emphasis; and whenever, since then, the matter has been considered of importance, they have repeated their resolutions against the interference of the state.

The minutes of the synod of 1799 have frequently been reproduced in the British Parliament and by the press. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner, at the time he was acting as their agent in London, declared that "the prelates were beset and plied" into that concession. Mr. Clinch, a Catholic barrister, who acted as secretary to Dr. Troy in his civil affairs, and who was high in the confidence of all the hierarchy, in defending the counter resolutions of 1808, says that the former propositions

were agreed to "when the reign of terror was still breathing, by practising upon fear and solitude, and by little less than a menace." * It is certain that, at the time, the body of the Catholics were much opposed to any understanding or compact with the British government. On the 13th of January, 1800, at an anti-union meeting, John Keogh and other Catholics openly expressed this dissatisfaction; in a maiden speech, Daniel O'Connell, then in his twenty-fourth year, declared the Catholics would "rather see the whole penal code reënacted than to consent to" the union. For nearly twenty years after the union, this question of "the veto" was the chief ground of debate between the government and the Catholics.

In the year 1800, "the act of union" was passed at Dublin, and repassed at London. It decreed "that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever, be united into one kingdom, by the name of 'the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.'" †

---

* Clinch's Inquiry. Dublin, 1810.

† The fifth article of the act of union disposes of the Protestant establishment as follows: —

"ARTICLE FIFTH. That it be the fifth article of union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal church, to be called "the united church of England and Ireland;" and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force forever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland."

The eighth article provides for the election of the Protestant "lords spiritual," in the following order: —

"Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following: that is to say, that one of

Strange piece of parchment! Here, by an act, legal in its forms, but atrocious in its antecedents, was an ancient Christian nation merged into a vast, irreligious, money-making empire, which embraced nearly one hundred million Mohammedans in Asia, a large barbaric population in Africa, and some twenty millions of heretics in Great Britain and her colonies. For what wise end, unseen of man, was this outrage on Ireland permitted by divine Providence? Fifty years do not always exhibit the ways of God, but we may be assured the incorporation of Ireland into the empire, at the beginning of such a century as the present, did not happen without its purpose in the divine economy which governs the earth. Some of the first fruits of the change are already

---

the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords of the united Parliament in each session thereof, the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees; that the Primate of all Ireland for the time being shall sit in the first session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the Archbishop of Dublin for the time being, in the second; the Archbishop of Cashel for the time being, in the third; the Archbishop of Tuam for the time being, in the fourth; and so by rotation of sessions forever; such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of Parliament; that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session, in the following order: the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, the Lord Bishop of Derry, in the first session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, the Lord Bishop of Dromore, in the second session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Elphin, the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, the Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, the Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Lord Bishop of Killala and Achonry, the Lord Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom, from time to time, as is hereinafter provided."

The lords spiritual of "the united churches" have thus, since 1801, been jointly responsible for the imperial laws under which India, Ireland, and the oppressed British people have groaned, and starved, and withered away. Let not that fact be forgotten!

to be seen in Great Britain and her foreign possessions, as well as in those countries which British policy influences.

Bringing Catholic Ireland bodily into the empire in 1800, threw her once more on the conservative side of the European struggle which dates from the French revolution. Grattan not less zealously than Burke, and O'Connell as zealously as either, has kept Ireland, until our own day, upon that side. Strange as it may sound, the Irish blood that spouts from the breaches of Spanish towns in the peninsular war was shed in the selfsame cause of the unity and order of Christendom as the Irish blood which flowed at Almanza, Fontenoy, and Veletri. A mysterious design penetrates and gives coherence to all the wars of the devoted islanders.

Bringing Catholic Ireland bodily into the empire in 1800, made Catholic "questions" imperial questions. London was slowly leavened out of the lump thus placed in her midst. For a century the English Catholics had been timid and compromising; without a hierarchy for two generations, the few remaining nobles usually looked on the vicars apostolic as their family chaplains. Drs. Poynter, Challoner, and Hay were surely able and virtuous men, but they had an extreme opinion of the power of the state, and an humble estimate of their own. The union prepared the way for a united Catholic organization, in which the Irish should supply what the English wanted for success against the sects. The gradual but decided restoration of religion in England since the beginning of the century is, in part, deducible from this cause.

Fifty years ago, the state domineered the church in every European country — in France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Italy. The triumph of the Catholics over the imperial Parliament, over the sovereign, and the Duke of Wellington, was felt from end to end of Europe. Gallicanism felt it, Pombaldism felt it, Josephism felt it. A triumph at London over the empire was a very different matter from a triumph at Dublin over "the castle party." The one could only have national, the other

had universal results. In reality, though not at first in appearance, Catholicity became aggressive in the British dominions from the time of the act of union. The ages of defence had closed successfully, so far as doctrine and discipline were involved.

The English speaking regions of America and Australia were not less influenced by the infusion of the Catholic spirit of Ireland into imperial politics than the British dominions proper. At Sydney, as at New York, wherever English commerce has an entry, it has carried insensibly with it the seed of the church. In 1800, Irish emigrants crossed the Ohio; in 1808, of the first five bishops of the United States three were of Irish origin. In 1820, the Irish in Australia raised the first cross that crowned a Christian temple in that land, and within our own memory an Australian hierarchy has been supplied partly from the same source. Upon the slave coast, in California, in India, in Newfoundland, Irish laymen, priests, and prelates, through an indirect British agency, have been settled and organized. Thus, as the conduits and highways of pagan Rome bore Christianity outward over the earth, so the material machinery of Great Britain, subjected without its own knowledge, has been made to serve Catholic purposes, and to conduce to the triumphs of the faith, so long and bitterly persecuted in Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

CATHOLIC QUESTION IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT. — PITT. — FOX. — GRENVILLE. — CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF 1805. — ITS DISSOLUTION. — CATHOLIC BOARD FORMED. — VETO CONTROVERSY. — DISSOLUTION OF THE BOARD. — LETHARGY OF THE CATHOLICS. — STATE OF IRELAND A. D. 1820.

The first years after the union were as dismal and discouraging as any the much-enduring island had undergone. Until 1802, the insurrection act continued in full force; in 1803, Emmett's *émeute* gave a momentary shock to the national stupefaction. On this pretence the habeas corpus was suspended, and martial law proclaimed. This state of things continued till the opening of 1805 — the year of the revival of public spirit.

On the assembling of Parliament in that year, the remaining members of the old Catholic committee came together at Dublin, and prepared a petition, which they sent forward by Lord Fingal. On reaching London, that nobleman committed the presentation of the petition to Lord Grenville in one house, and Mr. Fox in the other. On the 13th of May, Mr. Fox moved for a committee to take the petition into consideration. Dr. Duigenan, member for Trinity College, opposed it, and Mr. Grattan, who was induced to enter the imperial legislature, made his first speech there in its defence. The motion was negatived by a majority of 336 against 124.

In sustaining the motion, Sir John Cox Hippesley, a leading whig, had suggested "the veto" as a safeguard against "the encroachments of Rome," which the Irish bishops would not be disposed to refuse. Archbishop Troy, and Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, gave considerable praise to this speech, and partly at their request it was published. This brought up directly a discussion among the Catholics, which lasted until 1810, was renewed in 1813, and was not finally set at rest till the concession of "the relief bill of 1829, without any such safeguard." Sir John C. Hippesley had modelled his proposal, he said, on

the example of "the old Gallican church, ever jealous of the encroachments of Rome." "Her privileges," he added, "depended on two prominent maxims: 1st. That the pope had no authority to order or interfere in any thing in which the civil rights of the kingdom were concerned. 2dly: That notwithstanding the pope's supremacy was acknowledged in cases purely spiritual, yet, in other respects, his power was limited by the decrees of the ancient councils of the realm." The Irish church, therefore, was to be similarly administered, to meet the requirements of the whig friends of emancipation.

In 1806, on the death of Pitt, Mr. Fox came into power, with an uncertain majority and a powerful opposition. His cabinet were all orators — "all the talents," they were called. In April, the Duke of Bedford arrived, as viceroy, at Dublin, and the Catholics presented, through Mr. Keogh, a mild address, expressive of their hopes that "the glorious development" of their emancipation would be reserved for the new government. The duke returned an evasive answer in public, but privately, both at Dublin and London, the Catholics were assured that, as soon as the new premier could convert the king, — as soon as he was in a position to act, — he would make their cause his own. No doubt Fox, who had great nobleness of soul, intended so to do; but on the 13th of September of the same year, he followed his great rival, Pitt, to the vaults of Westminster Abbey. There were but a few months between their deaths.

Lords Grey and Grenville, during the next recess, formed a new administration, and instructed their Irish secretary (Mr. Elliot) to put himself in communication with the Catholics, in relation to a measure making them eligible to all naval and military offices. The Catholics accepted this proposal with pleasure, but at the opening of the session of 1807 sent a deputation to the Irish authorities "to urge the question of emancipation." The bill in relation to the army and navy had, originally, the king's acquiescence; but early in March, after it had been once read in the commons and committed, George III. changed his mind — if the expression may be used of him — at

that time. He declared he had not considered it at first so important as he afterwards found it; he now refused to permit it to be made a government proposition; he went further — he required a written pledge from Lords Grey and Grenville never again to bring forward such a measure, "nor ever more to propose any thing connected with the Catholic question." This pledge they refused to give, and resigned. Mr. Perceval was then sent for by the king, and formed what was called "the No Popery cabinet," in which George Canning and Lord Castlereagh were two of the principal secretaries of state. Thus the Catholic interest, in 1807, was powerful enough to make and unmake ministries — an achievement it has more than once repeated since then. Pitt, Fox, Grey, and Grenville had been governed by it as effectually as they had governed their several departments while in office.*

* "Lords Grey and Grenville," says a contemporary, "would have been placed at the head of affairs in 1812, had they not insisted on reforming the royal household. They were aware that the prince regent was under the influence of a mistress, and a *convenient* husband, who had more power over his mind than his ministers; and they refused to enter the cabinet so long as the Hertford family held possession of the closet. Earl Moira, to whom the negotiation had been intrusted, indulged in those feelings of courtly chivalry which moralists stigmatize by the name of criminal connivance; he refused to place any restraint upon the amorous predilections of the prince, and Ireland was sacrificed to a worthless woman, whose only claim to respect was her title.

"O'Connell assuredly must be pardoned for having denounced such proceedings with all the powers of his fervid eloquence; but the Catholics cannot be acquitted of imprudence for having adopted the 'witchery' resolutions, which proclaimed the scandal to Europe. These resolutions derive their name from the fourth, which we must quote: 'That, from authentic documents now before us, we learn, with deep disappointment and anguish, how cruelly the promised boon of Catholic freedom has been intercepted by the fatal *witchery* of an unworthy secret influence, hostile to our fairest hopes, spurning alike the sanctions of public and private virtue, the demands of personal gratitude, and the sacred obligations of plighted honor.'

"On this pregnant text O'Connell delivered a long and eloquent discourse, in which he lashed, with unsparing severity, the regent, Lady Hertford, and all the members of the new ministry. This offence was never forgiven; sixteen years afterwards, George IV. made it a condition of his consent to Catholic emancipation, that O'Connell should not be allowed to take his seat as member for Clare." — *Reminiscences of O'Connell, by a Munster Farmer.* London: Fisher & Co., 1847.

The Catholic committee, revived in 1805, had been a good deal dispirited by the overwhelming majority by which their petition of that year was refused to be referred. In 1806, they contented themselves with addressing the Duke of Bedford, and waiting on providence and Mr. Ponsonby. In 1807, the "No Popery cabinet," by the result of the elections, was found to be highly popular in England — a fact which excluded all prospect of having a government on their side. But they were too long accustomed to reverses to despair even under that obstacle. Early in the next session their petition was presented, as usual, by Mr. Grattan in the Commons, and Lord Donoughmore in the Lords. The majority against going into committee upon it was, in the Commons, 153; in the Lords, 87. Similar motions in the session of 1810, made by the same parties, were rejected by majorities somewhat reduced.

In the debate of 1808, Mr. Ponsonby had stated, as Sir John Cox Hippesley did three years before, that the Irish bishops were willing to concede "a veto" to the crown in future appointments to their order. In reply to Mr. Yorke, (afterwards Lord Hardwicke,) —

"Mr. Ponsonby explained: 'The right honorable gen-
"tleman is perfectly right in saying that the subject to
"which he has alluded is not stated in the petition;
"but my authority is derived from several of the most
"respectable Catholics in Ireland. I have had conver-
"sation with Dr. Milner, one of the Catholic bishops in
"this country, appointed to act here for the Catholic
"bishops. He informed me, that such is the determina-
"tion; he believes that, if the prayer of their petition be
"granted, they will not have any objection to make the
"king, virtually, the head of their church; for so I think
"he must become; and that no man shall become a
"Catholic bishop in Ireland, who has not received the
"approbation of his majesty; and that, although even
"appointed by the pope, if disapproved of by his majesty,
"he shall not be allowed to act or take upon himself his
"spiritual functions; and thus in succession, if his majes-
"ty choose to object to any bishop, to the third, fourth,

" or fifth nomination, and to every one, as he shall " please, until one shall be appointed that meets his " majesty's approbation, and that bishop, and that " bishop only, to receive full power.'

" Mr. Yorke asked 'if the right honorable gentleman " received authority to make this communication only " from Dr. Milner, or from the body of the Catholics.'

" Mr. Ponsonby replied, 'that he had stated that Dr. " Milner did represent the Catholic prelates of Ireland; " and that he had given to the house the assurance " which Dr. Milner had given him.'"

It is certain that Dr. Milner, as well as the majority of the Irish prelates, was, at first, favorable to such a concession to the crown. It was the mercy of Providence alone that averted the calamity of state control. The holy father was in exile, and the sacred college unable and unwilling to deal decisively with so grave a question in his absence. Monseigneur Quarantotti had, indeed, from Pius VII., very full powers to act for him during his exile; but questions concerning the episcopal order were especially withheld from him. Hence the decided tone taken by the Irish prelates in their resolutions of the 15th of September, 1808, against the veto, and the similar tone of the resolutions of February, 1810, and of August, 1815, in opposition to Monseigneur Quarantotti's rescript of the previous year. In considering the history of the Irish church in those days, we should always remember that the sovereign pontiff was an exile and prisoner, unable to direct or decide their national councils. Much that seems conflicting in their resolutions can only be accounted for in this way.

Mr. Ponsonby's speech excited the apprehension of those Catholics who had overlooked Sir John C. Hippesley's. Throughout 1808 and 1809, the Catholic press teemed with latters, arguments, and citations against the veto. Letters over the signatures "Sarsfield" and "Laicus," were particularly remarkable. They were generally attributed to Messrs. Scully and Clinch, barristers, who, like O'Connell, under the operation of the act of 1793, were permitted to lead a public life, and to give a legal and prudential direction to the efforts of their

brethren. The discussion could not be kept out of the committee, particularly when the change of opinion was expressed by the prelates, in September, 1808. Resolutions of thanks to their lordships were proposed and carried, against a protest favorable to the veto, which was signed only by Lord Fingal and four others. After the bishops' meeting of February, 1810, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray attended the meeting of the general committee, on the 2d of March, and read to them "a written communication from the prelates of Ireland," reaffirming the resolutions of 1808. A fervent vote of thanks was passed to the prelates and Dr. Murray, and another to Daniel O'Connell, Esq., "for the faithful discharge of the duties of Secretary." Lord Ffrench (the same who had been delegated to the king in 1793) was chairman at this meeting.

In May, 1809, the committee had been rearranged, and its constitution enlarged. By a series of resolutions then passed, it was agreed that the Catholic peers, the survivors of the delegates of 1793, the committee which managed the petitions of 1805 and 1807, and such persons "as shall distinctly appear to them to possess the confidence of the Catholic body," do form the general committee. It was proposed by O'Connell, to avoid "the convention act," "that the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof." The committee were authorized to collect funds for defraying expenses; a treasurer was chosen, and a permanent secretary, Mr. Edward Hay, of Wexford. The new committee acted with great judgment in 1810, but in 1811 Lord Fingal and his friends projected a general assembly of the leading Catholics, contrary to the convention act, and to the resolution just cited. O'Connell opposed this proposition; the assembly met, and were dispersed by the authorities. The chairman, Lord Fingal, and Drs. Sheridan and Kirwan, secretaries, were arrested. The former was not tried, the latter were tried and acquitted. The wisdom of O'Connell was thenceforward considered equal to his eloquence, and, on good old John Keogh's

death, he became, emphatically, the leader of the whole movement. To get rid of the odor of illegality, the committee dissolved, and reassembled as "the Catholic board" — the name which it continued to keep until dismembered by the veto struggle, some seven years later.

The desire for the veto had taken strong hold upon English statesmen.* The favor with which the first mention of it in Parliament was received betokened a foregone conclusion. "The effect produced in favor of "the Catholic cause," according to Mr. Charles Butler, "by what was said in both houses of Parliament, of the "willingness of the Catholic prelates of Ireland to accede "to the veto, was very great; even their most determined "adversaries seemed to consider that it had gained them "their cause. This was the general language within the "walls of Parliament; the first expression which any "Catholic heard from his Protestant acquaintance was "a congratulation on the turn of the debate, and the "event which occasioned it."† The same writer — a constant partisan of the veto — remarks, "As soon "as their actual rejection of it was known, it was evident "that the mention of it in Parliament had, in conse-"quence of this rejection, become the most unfortunate "circumstance which had befallen the Catholics since "they had been suitors to the legislature for relief. It "may be said, with the greatest truth, that it was a mat-

* In Burke's letter to Lord Kenmare, (written in 1782,) he says, "Before I had written thus far, I heard of a scheme of giving to the castle the patronage of the presiding members of the Catholic clergy." The remainder of the letter is occupied with an able exposition of the evils which would spring from such an error. "Whoever," writes the sage, "is complained against by his brother, will be considered persecuted; whoever is censured by his superior will be looked upon as oppressed; whoever is careless in his opinions, and loose in his morals, will be called a liberal man, and will be supposed to have incurred hatred because he was not a bigot." How true all this is, observers of the recent dealings of the state with the church, in Ireland, can testify. The passage in Burke fixes the first conception of the veto, as a measure of policy, at the year 1782. Twenty-five years earlier, the Stuarts had ceased to be consulted on episcopal appointments at Rome. The fact that they had been so consulted was still remembered, and probably suggested the design to the advisers of George III.

† Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. iv. p. 152.

"ter of triumph to all the enemies, and a matter of "concern to all the friends of Catholic emancipation." * Short-sighted triumph of the enemy! The act of the Irish prelates, in 1808, was a priceless victory won by religion in that empire. Judged by the after experience of half a century, it is to be placed far above the victories of 1793 and 1829, in real importance.

Defeated at Dublin, the vetoists still strove to ingraft their own conditions on the Catholic claims. In all their parliamentary speeches, they continued to speak of it as an indispensable security due to the crown; they even affected to think, that, if once embodied into law, the Catholics of Ireland would gradually submit to it. That Grattan and Canning, in the session of 1812, confidently repeated this assertion, notwithstanding the several declarations of the Irish prelates to the contrary, shows how hard it is, how impossible, indeed, for the best disposed Protestant to comprehend the Catholic sense of right and wrong. Private judgment is the natural parent and governor of expediency; an invincible faith guides the lives of men by paths and over obstacles from which the hardiest Protestantism would shrink back terrified and discomfited. Few cases in history are more illustrative of this truth than the events about the veto which transpired in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815.

"On the 22d of June, 1812, Mr. Canning moved a "resolution, that 'the house would, early in the next "session of Parliament, take into its most serious con- "sideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's "Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ire- "land, with a view to such a final and conciliatory "adjustment as might be conducive to the peace and "strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the "Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfac- "tion and concord of all classes of his majesty's sub- "jects.'

"He introduced his motion by an excellent speech, in "which, with the force and eloquence habitual to him,

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. iv. p. 164.

"he established three positions: 1. That all citizens of "the same state, living under the same government, are "entitled, *primâ facie*, to equal political rights and priv- "ileges; 2. That it is, at all times, desirable to create "and maintain the most perfect identity of interest "and feeling among all the members of the same com- "munity; 3. That, where there exists, in any commu- "nity, a great permanent cause of political discontent, "which agitates the minds of men, without having any "tendency to subside of itself, it becomes the duty of the "supreme power in the state to determine in what mode "it may, most advantageously, be set at rest. An inter- "esting debate ensued; Lord Castlereagh made a liberal "declaration in favor of the proposed inquiry respecting "the Catholics. On a division, Mr. Canning's motion "was carried by the decisive majority of 235 votes to "106.

"In the House of Lords, the Marquis Wellesley, on "the 1st of the following July, made a motion similar to "that of Mr. Canning. The previous question was "moved upon it by the lord chancellor, and there being "126 votes for it and 125 against it, the chancellor's "motion was carried by a majority of one.

"Under these auspicious circumstances, the memorable "campaign of 1813, for Catholic emancipation, began. "It was opened on the 25th of February, by Mr. Grat- "tan's motion, 'that the house will resolve itself into a "committee of the whole house, to take into its most "serious consideration the state of the laws affecting "the Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and "Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory "adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and "strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the "Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfac- "tion and concord of all classes of his majesty's sub- "jects.' After a debate of four days, a division took "place upon Mr. Grattan's motion; it was carried by a "majority of forty — there being 264 votes for it, and "224 against it.

"This point being gained, though by a hard contest-

"Mr. Grattan, on March 9th, moved the order of the day "for a committee of the whole house on the Catholic "question. When this was formed, he rose, and, after "some preliminary observations, said that he intended "to propose resolutions: 1st, That the Catholic disa- "bilities should be removed; and, 2dly, That the estab- "lishments in church and state ought to be effectually "secured; and afterwards, to propose regulations for "the ecclesiastical courts, and other matters, and an "oath against foreign influence." *

Grattan's bill, with Canning's amendments, after a severe handling in committee, was committed, ordered to be printed, and read a second time on the 11th of May. The following analysis of it is worthy of study:—

"The bill recited, that 'the Protestant succession to "the crown was, by the act for the further limitation of "the crown, and the better securing the liberties of the "people, established permanently and inviolably.

"'That the Protestant Episcopal church of England "and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and govern- "ment thereof, and likewise the Protestant church of "Scotland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government "thereof, were established permanently and inviolably.

"'That it would promote the interest of the same, and "strengthen our free constitution, of which they are the "essential part, if the civil and military disqualifications, "under which his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects "now labor, were removed.

"'And that, after due consideration of the petitions of "the said Roman Catholics, it appeared highly advisa- "ble to communicate to them the blessings of our free "form of government; and, with that view, to put an "end to all religious jealousies between his majesty's "subjects, and to bury in oblivion all animosities be- "tween England and Ireland, so that the advantage of "the respective countries might be bound together in all "time to come, by the same privileges, and the same "interest, in defence of their common liberties and

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. iv. pp. 236–238.

"government, against all the enemies of the British "empire.'

"The act then authorized Roman Catholics to sit and "vote in either house of Parliament, upon taking the "oath prescribed by the act, instead of the oaths of alle- "giance, abjuration, and supremacy, and instead of "making and subscribing the declaration against tran- "substantiation, and the declaration against the invoca- "tion of saints, now required of them. The oath was "chiefly formed from the oaths in the acts, passed for the "relief of the Catholics in 1791 and 1793.

"The bill then provided that it should be lawful for "Catholics to hold all civil and military offices, and all "places of trust and profit, except the office of lord high "chancellor, lord keeper, or lord commissioners of the "great seal of Great Britain, or lord lieutenant, or lord "deputy, or other chief governor of Ireland, upon making "and subscribing the foregoing declaration and oath, "instead of the oath and declaration against transub- "stantiation, and the declaration against the invocation "of saints, or taking the sacrament of our Lord's supper.

"It also enabled Catholics to be members of any lay "body corporate; and to hold any civil office or place "of trust and profit in it, upon taking and subscribing "the declaration and oath required by the act, instead "of the oaths and declarations now required, or taking "the sacrament.

"But the act excluded them from all offices and "places in the churches of the United Kingdom of Eng- "land and Ireland, or Scotland, or in the courts of eccle- "siastical judicature within the realm, or belonging to "any cathedral, collegiate, or ecclesiastical foundation, "or to any of the universities, or to Eton, Westminster, "or Winchester, or to any college or school of ecclesias- "tical or royal foundation; and from presenting to "ecclesiastical benefices.

"It also provided that it should not be lawful for "Catholics to advise the crown, in the appointment or "disposal of any ecclesiastical office or preferment.

"Persons exercising any of the spiritual duties or

"functions exercised by Catholics in holy orders were "required to take an oath, by which they swore not to "consent to the appointment or consecration of any "Roman Catholic bishop, or vicar apostolic, whom they "should not deem to be of unimpeachable loyalty, and "peaceable conduct, and not to hold any correspondence "with the pope or see of Rome, or its courts or tribunals, "tending directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb "the Protestant government, or the Protestant church, "or on any matter not merely spiritual.

"No persons born out of the United Kingdom, or its "dominions, except persons born of British or Irish "parents, and no persons who had not resided within "the same during the term therein mentioned, were to "exercise episcopal functions, under the penalty therein "mentioned; and were rendered liable to be sent out of "the kingdom.

"Such was the bill for the relief of his majesty's Cath-"olic subjects, which was brought into Parliament by "Mr. Grattan." *

Canning's amendments were equally important.

"The first appointed a certain number of commis-"sioners, who were to profess the Catholic religion, and "to be lay peers of Great Britain or Scotland, possessing "a freehold estate of one thousand pounds a year; to be "filled up, from time to time, by his majesty, his heirs, "or successors. The commissioners were to take an "oath for the faithful discharge of their office, and the "observance of secrecy in all matters not thereby re-"quired to be disclosed, with power to appoint a secre-"tary with a salary, (proposed to be five hundred pounds "a year,) payable out of the consolidated fund. The "secretary was to take an oath similar to that of the "commissioners.

"It was then provided, that every person elected to "the discharge of Roman Catholic episcopal functions "in Great Britain or Scotland should, previously to the "discharge of his office, notify his then election to the

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. iv. pp. 241–244.

"secretary; that the secretary should notify it to the "commissioners, and they to the privy council, with a "certificate 'that they did not know or believe any "thing of the person nominated, which tended to im- "peach his loyalty or peaceable conduct;' unless they "had knowledge of the contrary, in which case they "should refuse their certificate. Persons obtaining such "a certificate were rendered capable of exercising epis- "copal functions within the United Kingdom; if they "exercised them without a certificate, they were to be "considered guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to be "sent out of the kingdom.

"Similar provisions respecting Ireland were then in- "troduced.

"The second set of clauses was suggested by Lord "Castlereagh, and provided that the commissioners un- "der the preceding clauses — with the addition, as to "Great Britain, of the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, or "first commissioner of the great seal for the time being, "and of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of "state, being a Protestant, or such other Protestant "member of his majesty's privy council as his majesty "should appoint — and with a similar addition in re- "spect to Ireland — and with the further addition, as to "Great Britain, of the person then exercising episcopal "functions among the Catholics in London — and, in "respect to Ireland, of the titular Roman Catholic Arch- "bishops of Armagh and Dublin, — should be commis- "sioners for the purposes thereinafter mentioned.

"The commissioners thus appointed were to take an "oath for the discharge of their office, and observance "of secrecy, similar to the former, and employ the same "secretary, and three of them were to form a quorum.

"The bill then provided, that subjects of his majesty, "receiving any bull, dispensation, or other instrument, "from the see of Rome, or any person in foreign parts, "acting under the authority of that see, should, within "six weeks, send a copy of it, signed with his name, to "the secretary of the commissioners, who should trans- "mit the same to them.

"But with a proviso, that if the person receiving the "same should deliver to the secretary of the commission, "within the time before prescribed, a writing, under his "hand, certifying the fact of his having received such a "bull, dispensation, or other instrument, and accompa- "nying his certificate with an oath, declaring that 'it "related, wholly and exclusively, to spiritual concerns, "and that it did not contain, or refer to, any matter or "thing which did or could, directly or indirectly, affect "or interfere with the duty and allegiance which he "owed to his majesty's sacred person and government, "or with the temporal, civil, or social rights, properties, "or duties of any other of his majesty's subjects,' then "the commissioners were, in their discretion, to receive "such certificate and oath, in lieu of the copy of the "bull, dispensation, or other instrument.

"Persons conforming to these provisions were to be "exempted from all pains and penalties, to which they "would be liable under the existing statutes; otherwise, "they were to be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor; "and in lieu of the pains and penalties, under the "former statutes, be liable to be sent out of the king- "dom.

"The third set of clauses provided that, within a time "to be specified, the commissioners were to meet and "appoint their secretary, and give notice of it to his "majesty's principal secretaries of state in Great Britain "and Ireland; and the provisions of the act were to be "in force from that time."*

On the second reading, in May, the committee of Parliament, on motion of the speaker, then on the floor, struck out the clause enabling Catholics "to sit and vote in either house of Parliament," by a majority of four votes: 251 against 247. Mr. Ponsonby immediately rose, and, observing that, as "the bill, without the clause," was unworthy both of the Catholics and its authors, he moved the chairman do leave the chair. The committee rose, without a division, and the bill of 1813 was happily abandoned.

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. iv. pp. 246–249.

The defeat of this measure was very differently received in London and Dublin. The English Catholics were unfortunately divided into two parties — the Cisalpine club, representing the Gallicans, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner, famous as a controversial writer, the other. The former, composed chiefly of the gentry, was favored by the three remaining vicars apostolic, Drs. Poynter, Collingridge, and Douglas. Mr. Charles Butler, a near relative of the celebrated Dr. Alban Butler, was their counsellor and pensman. They were as mischievous a set of well-meaning men as ever came together, wise in their own conceit. Learning, fortune, and talent were to be found amongst them; but compromise, timidity, and egotism were also there. Immediately after the rejection of the bill of 1813, the Cisalpines, in the English board, voted their thanks to its authors, and in another resolution resolved to persevere in their efforts. Dr. Milner, on the other hand, had circulated a memorial against the proposed measure during its discussion, and after its defeat had charged its authorship upon "certain false Catholic brethren." When asked, at the board, to whom he alluded in that publication, he answered, to Mr. Butler: upon this the board voted, that "the charge just made by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner against Mr. Butler was a gross calumny;" that Mr. Butler "was entitled to the thanks and gratitude of the general board of British Catholics;" and, proceeding still further, that, "under present circumstances, it was highly expedient that the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner should cease to be a member of the board." This indignity to one of the most venerable and gifted bishops in Britain was a foretaste of what Canning's board of laymen might have provided for the hierarchy to be submitted to them, had not four votes defeated the bill of 1813. So wonderful are the ways of God!

In Ireland, the conduct of the Catholics, with the exception of a score or two of the aristocracy, was very different. Dr. Milner, at this time their agent, was voted the most marked thanks of the Irish prelates for "his late apostolic firmness" in "the faithful discharge of his

duty." On the other hand, Mr. Grattan, as a chief promoter of the bill, was bitterly denounced. An election occurring in that year, he was returned, without opposition, for the city of Dublin; but on being chaired through the streets, the poorer Catholics rose in a mob, assailed his bearers, and pelted him with stones, one of which drew blood from his face. He was obliged to take sudden refuge from the storm, while (O, strange reverse!) Mr. Charles Phillips, from the balcony of his prison, pleaded for protection for Henry Grattan! Since Jupiter Capitolinus was preserved by the Roman geese, there was seldom seen such a contrast between guardian and ward! To the honor of Grattan, — who is always to be judged as a Protestant, — he never uttered a word of complaint, and in his future efforts in the same cause, he wisely avoided the former rock of offence. His conduct in this respect contrasted favorably with Hippesley's, who, finding the veto could not be carried, became a zealous enemy of the Catholic claims.

Untaught by the example of Grattan, Richard Lalor Shiel entered the Catholic board, and on the 10th of December, 1813, — being then but twenty-three years old, — made his first speech, in defence of the veto. He was opposed by O'Connell and Dr. Dromgoole; and some years later, he publicly retracted the unconsidered sentiments of his youth. Notwithstanding his first false step, the Catholic body cherished for his courage, genius, and person an affection exceeded only by that they rendered to O'Connell.

The English vetoists, encouraged by their "liberal" allies, resolved, if possible, to make interest for their project at Rome. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Poynter had submitted to Monseigneur Quarantotti their views and wishes, while the Archbishop of Dublin had forwarded the opposite opinions of the Irish prelates. A rescript to Dr. Poynter, dated February 16, 1814, was issued, which, from its historical importance, we transcribe in part. Monseigneur Quarantotti wrote as follows: —

"Most illustrious and right reverend Lord, —

"With great pleasure we have learned that a bill for

" the emancipation of the Catholics of your flourishing " kingdom from penal laws, which was proposed in the " last year, and lost by a small minority, may probably " be again presented in this session of Parliament. It is " our ardent wish that this act, so much desired, may at " length be passed; and that the Catholics, who have " ever given such distinguished proofs of their obedience " and fidelity, may at length be delivered from the heavy " yoke by which they have so long been oppressed; and " that, without any detriment to their honors or estates, " they may give full scope to those exertions which both " religion and the good of their country require of them. " And this may be surely expected from your most be- " neficent sovereign, and from that illustrious nation, " which on former occasions, and especially in these lat- " ter times, has acquired so much glory in the estimation " of the whole world for its equity, prudence, and other " virtues. And since it has been represented, that among " the bishops certain questions and differences have " arisen, relative to the conditions on which the Catholics " are to be placed on an equality with their fellow-sub- " jects, we, who, in the absence of the supreme pastor, " are placed over the concerns of the sacred missions, " and, for that purpose, are invested with full pontifical " powers, have thought it incumbent on us to remove " every ambiguity and obstacle which might impede so " desirable a conciliation, and by the authority, and con- " sent of the holy see, to supply such faculties as do not " come within the ordinary limits of episcopal jurisdic- " tion. Having, therefore, taken the advice of the most " learned prelates and divines, having examined the let- " ters which have been transmitted to us both by your " lordship and the Archbishop of Dublin, and the mat- " ter having been maturely discussed in a special congre- " gation, it is decreed, that the Catholics may, with sat- " isfaction and gratitude, accept and embrace the bill " which was last year presented for their emancipation, " in the form in which your lordship has laid it before " us. One point only requires some explanation; and " that is the second part of the oath, by which the clergy

" is so restrained as not to be permitted to hold any cor-
" respondence with the sovereign pontiff and his minis-
" ters, which may, directly or indirectly, subvert, or in
" any way disturb, the Protestant government or church.
" It is evidently, by divine authority, the special duty of
" the ministers of the church every where to propagate
" the Catholic faith, (the only faith which can lead to
" eternal felicity,) and to refute erroneous doctrines.
" This is taught by the precepts of the gospel, and by
" the example of the apostles and their successors. Now,
" should a Catholic convert any Protestant to the ortho-
" dox religion, he might be deemed guilty of perjury;
" as, by such conversion, he might seem, in some sort, to
" disturb the Protestant church. Understood in this
" sense, the oath cannot lawfully be taken, as being re-
" pugnant to the Catholic faith. If, on the other hand,
" it be the meaning of the legislators, that the minis-
" ters of the Catholic church are not forbidden to preach,
" instruct, and give counsel, but are only prohibited from
" disturbing the Protestant church or government by vio-
" lence and arms, or evil artifices of whatever kind, this
" is just, and entirely consonant to our principles.

" To you, therefore, it belongs, with all humility and
" earnestness, to supplicate the high court of Parliament,
" that in order to quiet and secure the consciences of the
" Catholic clergy, it will affix some modification or decla-
" ration to this clause in the oath; which, removing every
" ambiguity, may leave them the liberty peacefully to
" preach and to persuade. In case the bill be already
" passed, containing the same words, or that nothing in
" it is allowed to be altered, let the clergy acquiesce; and
" it will be sufficient for them publicly to declare, that
" this, and this only, is the sense in which they have
" sworn to it, so that nothing in the oath may be adverse
" to orthodox doctrine; and, that this protest may be
" generally known, and be for an example to posterity,
" this construction of it shall be publicly recorded. It
" were to be wished, likewise, if it can be obtained, that
" a declaration should be made by some of the members
" of Parliament, that government requires the oath from

" the Catholic clergy in this sense, and no other. Other " clauses, which you mention as contained in the same " bill, may be submitted to by the indulgence of the " apostolic see.

" That the king should desire to be certified of the " loyalty of such as are promoted to a bishopric or dean- " ery, and should be assured that they are endowed with " such qualities as become a good subject; that, to in- " vestigate these particulars, he should likewise appoint a " committee to inquire into their moral conduct, and " make a report to his majesty, as your lordship has given " us to understand is the case; that, for this very same " reason, the king should require that foreigners, and those " likewise who have not resided five years in the kingdom, " should be excluded from such dignities: all this, as " it regards only what is within the competence of civil " authority, may be deserving of every toleration. It is " highly proper that our prelates should be agreeable and " acceptable to the king; that they should exercise their " ministry with his full consent; in fine, that their probity " should be evident even to those who are not in the " bosom of the church. For a bishop (as the apostle " teaches, 1st Epistle to Timothy, iii. 7) *should have a* " *good report of them who are without.* On these accounts, " by the authority vested in us, we allow that those who " are designed for a bishopric or deanery, and are pro- " posed by the clergy, be admitted or rejected by the " king, according to the proposed bill. Therefore, after the " clergy have, in the usual manner, chosen those whom " they shall have judged in the Lord to be worthy to be " exalted to those dignities, in Ireland the metropolitan " of the province, in England and Scotland the senior " apostolical vicar, shall announce them to the committee " for the royal approbation or dissent. If the candidates " be rejected, others shall be proposed, who may be " pleasing to his majesty; but, if approved, the metropol- " itan or apostolical vicar, as above, shall send the act of " their election to this sacred congregation, which, having " weighed with care the merits of each individual, shall " apply to the sovereign pontiff for canonical institution.

"We observe, likewise, that it is the office of the said "committee to examine any letters which are sent to "any of the clergy of Great Britain from the ecclesiasti- "cal powers, and diligently to inquire whether any thing "be contained therein which may be obnoxious to the "government, or in any way disturb the public tran- "quillity. Since communication with the head of the "church in spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns is not "prohibited, but the inspection of the committee regards "only matters of civil policy, this likewise ought to be "acquiesced in. It is good that the government should "not entertain any suspicion concerning our commu- "nications." *

When this rescript was made public by Dr. Poynter, the Irish were again alarmed. At that critical moment, the holy father was restored to his city, and the Catholics throughout the world were pouring in addresses of congratulation. The Irish resolved to send an agent to Rome, and chose the Rev. Richard Hayes, a Franciscan friar, distinguished for his eloquence. He arrived in Rome towards the close of the year, but after a stay of some weeks, was ordered to leave the city, on account of certain slighting expressions he was reported to have used of Cardinals Litta and Quarantotti.† The Irish prelates immediately despatched the coadjutor of Dub-

* In his examination before the joint committees of both houses of Parliament, in March, 1825, right Rev. Dr. Doyle gave the following account of the position of Monseigneur Quarantotti at Rome. It was asked, "Are the committee to understand from you that this rescript of Quarantotti's did not come from the see of Rome?" Dr. Doyle answered, "It did come from the see of Rome, but the pope of that time was a prisoner in France, and he vested his spiritual jurisdiction in several individuals in Rome, first in one, and then provisionally in others; so that in case the first, second, and third happened to be removed by the French from Rome, some person might remain to administer the affairs of the church: the first individual, and I believe the second, who were entitled to do so, were removed by the French. This Quarantotti, who was an obscure individual at the time, happened to remain; he had those powers, and began to exercise them, and, not being at all acquainted with our affairs, gave this rescript upon an application being made to him by some interested person, and as soon as we received it we protested against it."

† On his return from Rome, Father Hayes was present at a Catholic meeting in Dublin, where the following event occurred: On the reply

lin, Dr. Murray, as their agent, but equally without success. The vetoists still insisted that Rome was with them. Early in 1815, his holiness having again to withdraw temporarily from Rome, to which he returned after the battle of Waterloo, the Irish prelates delayed their further action until August. In that month they again met, and reappointed Dr. Murray and the Bishop of Cork to Rome. A part of their instructions was, to deliver the holy father the following resolutions: —

"At a meeting of the Roman Catholics in Dublin, "they came to the following resolution: that 'it is "our decided and conscientious conviction, that any "power granted to the crown of Great Britain, of inter- "fering directly or indirectly in the appointment of bish- "ops for the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, must "essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Ro- "man Catholic religion in this country.

"'That, with this conviction deeply and unalterably "fixed in our minds, we should consider ourselves as "betraying the dearest interests of that portion of the "church which the Holy Ghost has committed to our "care, did we not declare most unequivocally, that we "will, at all times and under all circumstances, deprecate "and oppose, in every canonical and constitutional way, "any such interference.

---

of the pontiff to the remonstrance of the Catholic body being read to the meeting Mr. Hayes rose, and spoke thus in relation to the censure it contained of his own course in the Eternal City: —

"By faith a Catholic, by ordination a priest, by obedience a child of the holy see, I bow with unhesitating submission, respect, and veneration to the centre of Catholicism and source of ecclesiastical subordination, the vicegerent of Jesus Christ. I solemnly declare, that I should choose death rather than allow any private or personal feeling or consideration to betray me into the slightest contest with or disrespect towards the authority and dignity of the head of the Catholic church, Pope Pius VII. My tongue shall never utter a syllable of complaint, nor my pen trace a line of vindication; for lest scandal should arise, in the words of the prophet, I exclaim, 'First take me up and cast me into the sea.'"

On another occasion, some priests in America, chafing against authority, invited him amongst them, to become their patriarch and head. But he spurned the infamous proposal, laid it at the feet of his spiritual superior, and eloquently reprimanded those from whom it came. — McGee, *O'Connell and his Friends*, p. 31. Boston: 1845.

" 'Though we sincerely venerate the supreme pontiff " as visible head of the church, we do not conceive that " our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Cath- " olic church in Ireland can or ought to be removed by " any determination of his holiness, adopted, or intended " to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but " in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions, and " the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, " and so ably supported by our deputy, the Most Rever- " end Dr. Murray; who, in that quality, was more com- " petent to inform his holiness of the real state and " interests of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland than " any other with whom he is said to have consulted.'

" These resolutions were unanimously agreed to by the " four metropolitan archbishops, by Dr. Everard, the co- " adjutor of the Archbishop of Cashel, by Dr. Murray, the " coadjutor of the Archbishop of Dublin, by the Bishops " of Meath, Cloyne, Clonfert, Kerry, Waterford, Derry, " Achonry, Killala, Killaloe, Kilmore, Ferns, Limerick, " Elphin, Cork, Downe and Connor, Ossory, Raphoe, " Clogher, Dromore, Kildare and Leighlin and Ardagh, " and the warden of Galway."

In February, 1816, Pius VII. addressed a lengthy epistle to the Irish prelates. The cardinal point of this epistle is in the following passage: —

" This also, venerable brothers, it is right that you " should seriously advert to, that it was not possible for " us to refuse this small interference in the election of " bishops to the British government, without exciting, " in a serious degree, the displeasure of that government " towards the whole church. It were, indeed, to be wished, " and it is what we of all others most earnestly desire, " that, in the election of bishops, we enjoyed that full and " complete freedom, which so peculiarly makes a part of " our supremacy, and that no lay power had any share " whatever in a matter of so much moment. But you " yourselves well know how far we are at present re- " moved from this happy state of things. For the sov- " ereigns of Europe, or many of them at least, have " demanded and obtained, from the apostolical see, a

" greater or lesser share of influence in the nomination of " candidates. And hence have arisen the *conventions*, " the *indults*, the *nominations*, the *postulations*, the *presen-* " *tations*, and other expedients of this kind, by which the " extent of the privileges granted in this way to so many " Catholic sovereigns is limited and defined. Even in " your islands, before the ever-to-be-lamented separation " from the Roman church took place, the bishops were " chosen by the pope, upon the *supplication* of the king, " as is recorded in the acts of the consistory, held on " the 6th of July, in the year 1554, during the auspi- " cious pontificate of Pope Julius III.* Besides, not " Catholic sovereigns alone, but others also who are " separated from our communion, claim a share in the " appointment of ecclesiastical persons to bishoprics, " situated in those parts of their dominions which yet " adhere to the Catholic faith — a claim which this see " feels it necessary to submit to.

" Such being the state of this momentous question, " what hope could there be entertained that the British " government would long have submitted to an exclusion " from a share in appointing the bishops of your island, " even such as it has been explained, while a conduct so " different is observed not only to Catholic sovereigns, to " those even whose dominions are of the smallest extent, " but also to princes who do not belong to our com- " munion? Was it not to be feared, that, if we had de- " clined adopting the measure already mentioned, the " government would not only lay aside all intention of " granting emancipation to the Catholics, but withdraw " from them all favor and protection throughout the " whole of its so widely-extended dominions?"

The Irish prelates, to whom it was addressed, perceived that his holiness was not fully informed upon all the local facts; as, for instance, where he speaks of the emancipation act admitting the bishops to the House of Lords, as a reason why the government should hold a veto over their appointment. No Catholic in the empire

* Apud. Raynaldum ad an. 1554, No. 5 and 6.

had dreamed of such a contingency, nor could those who, at Rome, represented it as possible, be well defended from the imputation of practising an imposition on the holy father.

A copious extract of the pope's letter was communicated by the bishops to the Catholic board in 1817. This body, in an energetic and dutiful remonstrance, besought the holy father to decide against all government interference with Catholic discipline. They declared they would rather bear all, and more than all, their old oppression, than be the occasion of any such interference. Finally, they solicited "such a concordate with the Catholic bishops in Ireland as will render the election of their successors perfectly domestic and purely Catholic, and will at the same time insure the institution to the person so elected." In reply, the holy father referred the Catholics to his letter to the bishops, and concluded with this admonition: "Concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of your country, *we order you to be at ease.*" In whatever sense various individuals interpreted these emphatic words, we know that from that time forth the proposal of a veto was but seldom and faintly renewed at Rome, London, or Dublin, and that every succeeding year its partisans declined and disappeared. The fault of 1799 was nobly retrieved by the firmness of 1808 and the twenty succeeding years.

After the defeat of Grattan and Canning's bill, the majorities against the Catholics continued to be large. In 1815, Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a committee was rejected by a majority of 228 to 147; in 1816, on Mr. Grattan's similar motion, the vote was 172 to 141; in 1817, Mr. Grattan was again defeated by 245 to 221. In this session an act exempting officers in the army and navy from forswearing transubstantiation was passed; in 1818, on General Thornton's motion, Lord Castlereagh moved the previous question — so that there was no division. In 1819, in a new Parliament, Mr. Grattan's motion for a committee was negatived by two votes; the division being 241 for, 243 against. This was the last Catholic motion the illustrious orator lived

to make. In a dying state, he was carried to London, in 1820, declaring it to be his purpose to die in the service of so holy a cause. Death intercepted his genius in that devout pilgrimage. He breathed his last talking of the rights of the Catholics, leaving nothing to that body to regret, save only that he had not departed possessed of the holy viaticum, which conduces to an eternal glory in realms where agitation and persecution are alike unknown.*

The years 1819 and 1820 saw a spirit of languid submission pervading all Ireland. The gradual secession of the aristocracy undermined the Catholic board after an existence of eight years, remarkable more for the mischiefs it averted than for any decisive victories. The death of Grattan was followed by that of George III. The coronation of the regent made no difference in the policy of the empire, over which, since 1810, he had possessed an "unrestricted sovereignty." An attempt to found an Irish party irrespective of religion had failed; all was sullen and gloomy acquiescence in the order of the day. To make the matter worse for the Catholics, the Irish vetoists retained the enmity of opposition long after the conflict had passed. O'Connell and Shiel were entirely estranged; and the stout middle men, who adhered to "the counsellor," (as he was popularly called,)

* Charles Butler relates the following affecting anecdote of Grattan's death: "At the end of May, 1820, Mr. Grattan came *for the last time* to London. On the first day of the following June, the writer of these pages called upon him; and, being informed that he was extremely ill, was retiring without having seen him; but Mr. Grattan, having heard that he was in the house, sent for him. It was evident that he touched the moment of his dissolution; but the ethereal vigor of his mind was unsubdued, and his zeal for the Catholic cause unabated. He pressed the writer by the hand. 'It is," he said, 'all over! — yes — all over! — but I will die in the cause. I mean to be carried to the House of Commons to-morrow — to beg leave of the speaker to take the oaths sitting — and then to move two resolutions.' These he mentioned to the writer, but spoke so indistinctly, that the writer could only perceive, generally, that they were substantially the same as the clauses which he had prefixed to the bill, which, in 1812, he brought into Parliament for the relief of the Catholics. He again pressed the writer by the hand, repeated the intention of being carried to the house, and desired the writer to attend him to it. But he died in the ensuing night!"

cordially despised the titled trimmers who acted with Lord Fingal. When the latter received his "yard of blue ribbon," so satirized by Byron, it did not mend the matter in the least. An occasional allusion to the wrongs of the people in pleadings at the bar, an occasional voice from the press vainly exhorting to exertion, was all that was heard in this gloomy interval, out of which no man perceived any way of deliverance.

The separate tariff of Ireland was, according to the terms of the union, drawing to its end; men were retiring from trade, and rushing upon the land; the exchequers of the two countries were to be consolidated. The social revolution occupied every mind in 1820; it was then the union was consummated.

In England, the Gallican Catholics were still in the ascendant, though the aged Milner's ultramontane doctrines found a small and growing body of adherents. The irreligious populace had been lately reached by the propaganda of the old radical reformers — Cartwright, Godwin, Bentham, Cobbett, and Burdett. In 1819, the military at Manchester fired upon one of their assemblies, shooting down several of the people. Thenceforward we can clearly trace the aggressions of the urban upon the territorial aristocracy: this was a social revolution for England, whose consequences are still ripening.

So opened the important decade during which George IV. reigned in his own name over Great Britain and Ireland.

CHAPTER VI.

VISIT OF GEORGE IV. TO IRELAND. — THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT. — FORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION. — ITS PROGRESS AND POWER. — THE CATHOLICS BEFORE PARLIAMENT IN PERSON. — FOREIGN SYMPATHY; AID FROM THE IRISH IN AMERICA. — THE "SECOND REFORMATION." — GENERAL CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY. — ADVOCATES OF EMANCIPATION AT THE PRESS. — ELECTION OF O'CONNELL TO PARLIAMENT. — RELIEF BILL OF 1829. — RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH AND "THE ESTABLISHMENT," A. D. 1830. — CONCLUSION.

In 1821, to escape from the unpopularity produced by his persecution of Queen Caroline, George IV. visited Ireland. He arrived in Dublin, and was received with enthusiasm. It is humiliating to an Irishman to record the dishonorable fact; but the truth must be told. Though one of the most criminal kings that had ever reigned, (not excepting Henry VIII., whom he much resembled,) though accompanied by Lord Castlereagh, and fresh from the infamous persecution of his own wife, he was received with enthusiasm. So vain and frivolous does long provincialism make men of rank, so helplessly excitable does it leave a city populace. George IV. remained a month in Ireland, and then, with many fair promises, made to be broken, returned home by way of Scotland.

Early in the first session of the new Parliament, (May 4, 1821,) Mr. Plunkett, whose ambition it was to follow in Mr. Grattan's footsteps, presented several Catholic petitions, and moved for a committee to consider them. In commencing an argument worthy of the succession he claimed, he made the following preface: —

"Sir, I hold in my hand a petition, signed by a very "considerable number of his majesty's Roman Catholic "subjects of Ireland. From the names attached to it, "which amount to many thousands, distinguished for "rank, fortune, talents, and every thing which can confer "weight and influence, — from the means which these

" persons possess of collecting the opinions of the people " in that part of the United Kingdom, — the petition may " be fairly considered as speaking the sentiments of the " great body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. A " similar petition was presented from the same body, the " year before last. It is unnecessary for me to remind " the house that, on that occasion, it was presented by " the late Mr. Grattan. It was sanctioned by the au- " thority of his name, and enforced by all the resistless " powers which waited on the majesty of his genius. I " have no design to give vent to the feelings with which " my heart is filled, or to mingle with the public mourn- " ing the mere peculiar and selfish regrets which have " followed to the grave the friend by whose confidence " I was honored, by whose wisdom I was instructed, by " whose example I was guided. His eulogium has been " heard from the lips of kindred eloquence and genius; " the last duties have been rendered to his tomb by the " gratitude and justice of the British people: in his " death, as in his life, he has been a bond of connection " between the countries. Sir, I will not weaken the " force of that eulogium, or disturb the solemnity of " those obsequies, by my feeble praise or unavailing sor- " row; but with respect to the sentiments of that great " and good man on this particular question I wish to say " a word. Sir, he had meditated upon it deeply and " earnestly; it had taken early and entire possession of " his mind, and held it to the last; he would willingly " have closed his career of glory in the act of asserting " within these walls the liberties of his countrymen, but " still regarding them as connected with the strength, " the concord, and the security of the empire. Sir, he " was alive to fame — to the fame that follows virtue. " The love of it clung to him to the last moments of his " life; but though he felt that 'last infirmity of noble " minds,' never did there breathe a human being who " had a more lofty disdain for the shallow and treacher- " ous popularity which is to be courted by subserviency, " and purchased at the expense of principle and duty. " He felt that this question was not to be carried as the

"triumph of a party, or of a sect, but to be pursued as a "great measure of public good, in which all were bound "to forego their prejudices, and to humble their passions "for the attainment of justice and of peace. Sir, in the "humble walk, and at the immeasurable distance at "which it is my lot to follow the footsteps of my illus-"trious friend, I pledge myself to be governed by the "same spirit. I have a firm and entire persuasion that "justice and policy require that the prayer of this peti-"tion should be complied with; but I am equally con-"vinced that, if this question is pressed, or carried on "any other terms than those which will give full satis-"faction to the Protestant mind, it cannot be productive "of good. All these objects appear to me to be attain-"able: with this view and in this temper only will I "prosecute them."

This man, also, though able and honest, was short-sighted. "Terms" which would "satisfy the Protestant mind" could not possibly satisfy the Catholic. He did not understand the consequences of "the reformation." It is clear he must fail with all his eloquence and energy.

Mr. Plunkett's bill of 1821 was very similar to that of 1813;* it was supported by Canning, Wilberforce, and Mackintosh: it was opposed by Scott, Peel, and some nameless bigots. It was carried, on a third reading, by a majority of 216 to 197; the Lords' House rejected it by 159 to 120. Both in this and the next Parliament, the Lords were frequently in collision with the Commons on this question. In 1822, Mr. Canning's bill to enable Catholic peers to take their seats was rejected by them; in the Commons it had an overplus of 21, while in the Lords it was defeated by a majority of 271 noes to 129 ayes.

The mind of Daniel O'Connell had been much occupied, since the dissolution of the Catholic board, in preparing a project for another effort. A Catholic, an anti-

* The Catholic prelates of Leinster, in a meeting at St. Michael and John's Church, Dublin, Archbishop Troy in the chair, expressed their disapprobation of the veto clause. With that exception they approved Plunkett's bill of 1821.

revolutionist, and a lawyer, he was trebly bound to the peace. Looking around, in both islands, he saw a vast outlying multitude of non-electors, surrounding the edifice of a representative government. To agitate this stagnant mass of still life; to control the agitation within the limits of law; by constant "pressure from without," to extract concessions constitutionally from an unwilling oligarchy, — these were his tactics. After the event, it appears a simple, or, indeed, a vulgar design: there is little apparent originality or heroism in it. Yet, in the winter evenings of 1822–3, when these thoughts throbbed under the full temples of O'Connell, they were rare discoveries. They were parts of a machinery of peaceful political association, unknown before that time in constitutional or despotic states. It was a plan as new to the Irish Catholics as to others. The petitioning committees of 1757 and 1773, the conventions of 1793 and 1811, the late board — all did their work in a select circle, and by sending out deputations to the constituents, or to the government. This new system proposed to make the aggregate public the chief agent; to deliberate in committee, and decide before the face of the people; to accept the peasant's penny as well as the peer's pound; to make the press the daily deputy of the constituent multitude. We cannot approve of such an extrajudicial combination in many cases; but in this case, for which the machinery was originally invented, we will find it work wonderfully well. It is of course to be remembered that the inventor remained the overseer of his own work.

One of his earliest converts to the proposed plan of action was Mr. Shiel, whom he accidentally met at the house of a mutual friend in Wicklow, and not only conciliated, but enlisted. March, April, and the early part of May were spent upon a series of parish meetings in Dublin, for which purpose the churches, or "chapels," as they were then called, were placed at his disposal. O'Connell was then at his best, and his various harangues stirred to life the desponding and the fearful. A preliminary meeting had been held for business on the 4th of February, another on the 23d of May, at which

rules were adopted, one of which bound the members to meet every Saturday.* The meetings for some time were thinly attended, and the receipts were proportionate

---

* *Rules and Regulations of the Catholic Association of Ireland, commencing Saturday, 24th May*, 1823.

Joseph McDonnell, Esq., in the chair.

The committee appointed to prepare the draught of laws and regulations for the Association reported, whereupon the following resolutions were adopted: —

That the Catholic Association be formed to adopt all such legal and constitutional measures as may be most useful to obtain Catholic emancipation.

That the Association is not a representative or delegated body; and that it will not assume any representative or delegated authority or quality.

That such individuals as shall give in their names to the secretary, and pay an annual subscription of one pound two shillings and ninepence, be members of this Association; and that same be payable each first day of January.

That no motion shall be debated at any meeting of this Association without one week's previous notice.

That all reporters for newspapers, &c., be at liberty to attend all the meetings of the Association.

That the Secretary do call an extraordinary meeting of the Association whenever required, by a requisition signed by at least twenty members.

That the proceedings of the Association, as well as notices of motions, be entered in a book always open for inspection and reference; and that a book be also kept, containing as well the names as the address of each member, to be always open for inspection.

That no member be allowed to speak twice in any discussion, except the mover of the original question, who shall have the right to reply; such reply to close the debate.

That during any discussion every member be seated, except the member addressing the chairman.

That the object of the foregoing resolutions is to prevent as much as possible any debate or discussion but what must be absolutely necessary to ascertain the sense of each meeting.

That Saturday be the fixed day of meeting, subject to such adjournment as the Association may agree to.

That at least ten members must be in attendance in order to constitute a meeting of this Association.

That three o'clock in the afternoon be the fixed hour of all meetings; and that so soon as ten members are in attendance after three o'clock, the chair shall be immediately taken.

Treasurers and secretaries were appointed.

JOSEPH M'DONNELL, *Chairman.*
N. PURCELL O'GORMAN, *Secretary.*

— Wyse, *History of the Late Catholic Association*, vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

The members present at this first meeting were, The O'Connor Don, Sir Ed. Bellew, D. O'Connell, Nicholas Mahon, Eneas McDonnell, Richard Shiel, R. Lonergan, and Messrs. Callaghan, Scanlan, Oldham, and Hay.

to the numbers, averaging under ten pounds per week. The system of parochial collections began to spread: in 1824, the receipts rose to average between thirty and forty pounds per week; the clergy, the bar, and the gentry began to join; the press revolved for the Catholic cause; the systematic industry of O'Connell had prevailed over the lethargy of his contemporaries. In the second year, the association removed to the Corn Exchange rooms, which continued for many years the Parliament of the agitation.

In the imperial legislature, in 1823, Mr. Plunkett, in moving for a committee, had been again defeated by a motion for adjournment. In 1824, bills enabling Catholics to vote at elections and act as magistrates were also defeated. An act enabling the Duke of Norfolk to discharge his duties as earl marshal was passed. In 1825, Plunkett and Canning, to meet the wishes of the king, refused to propose the reference of Catholic petitions, which, in this, and the two following years, were chiefly intrusted to Sir Francis Burdett, the whig radical member for Westminster. The eloquent gentleman just named had still further offended by voting for the act to suppress the Catholic Association, commonly called "the Algerine act." The plea for this law was, that it would leave Parliament free to legislate on the question, without pretence of intimidation. No such legislation followed, and on the 13th July, 1825, the association was revived, under new rules, technically different, but in effect the same as the old. An immense accession of strength followed; twenty-six bishops, three thousand priests, hundreds of thousands of members, including fourteen hundred Protestants, were found upon its muster roll.

In 1825, certain Catholics, clerical and lay, had been summoned to appear before a committee of Parliament. This was an important innovation — the first of the kind since the days of the Stuarts. In February, Mr. O'Connell and the laymen were examined; in March, the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Magauran, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle were exam-

ined. Dr. Doyle's evidence was the most minute and particular, and in some respects the most important. We believe it is now understood that some of his opinions were considered heterodox at Rome; but the respect entertained for his life and talents by the sacred college prevented any action being taken upon them. The effect of the examination was salutary at the time. Mr. Dawson, a near relative of Mr. Peel, Mr. Brownlow, afterwards Lord Lurgan, and other opponents of the Catholic claims, declared themselves converted to their side. Both houses of Parliament subsequently were in the habit of quoting the examinations of 1825 as authority, thus rehearsing Catholic definitions of Catholic doctrine.

Soon after the examinations closed, the emancipation bill passed the Commons with Burdett's "two wings" attached — one providing that the state should support the priesthood; the other disfranchising the Irish "forty shilling" freeholders, who were chiefly Catholics, registered under the act of 1793. On the 18th of May, it came up for discussion in the Lords, when the Duke of York made his impious declaration,* that, "so help him

* A metrical travesty of this "speech presumptive," which appeared in one of the London morning papers, has been ascribed to Thomas Moore. The following is a sample of this satire: —

"Though Mr. Leslie Foster winced
From what he once asserted;
Though Mr. Brownlow is convinced,
And Mr. North converted;
Though even country gentlemen
Are sick of half their maggots,
And rustics mock the vicar, when
He prates of fiery fagots;
Though Hume and Brougham, and twenty more,
Are swaggering and swearing,
And Scarlett hopes the scarlet whore
Will not be found past bearing;
Though Reverend Norwich does not mind
The feuds of two and seven,
And trusts that humble prayers may find
A dozen roads to heaven, —
Till royal heads are lit with gas,
Till Hebrews dine on pork,
My lords, this bill shall never pass;
So help me God!" said York.

God, in every situation in which he might be placed, he would uphold the principles of hostility to Catholics in which he had been bred." This from the king's brother, the heir presumptive, decided their lordships. The bill was rejected by a vote of 178 to 130. Shortly after this, the duke suddenly died, and his more liberal brother William became the next claimant to the crown.

The year 1825 was further remarkable for the oratorical deputation to England, composed of Councillors O'Connell, Shiel, Bric, Sergeant Shee, and one or two others. The meetings at London, Liverpool, and Penenden Heath, in Kent, gave a new impulse to the sympathies of non-Catholics. Bentham, Cobbett, and the radicals cordially exerted themselves to help forward the projected emancipation; acting, as one might expect, more on radical than religious grounds.

In 1826, a general election occurred on a change of ministry, Canning and Lord Goderich succeeding Lord Liverpool for a few months, to be succeeded by Wellington and Peel. In this election, the association tried its strength with the Beresfords in Waterford, the Fosters in Louth, and the Leslies in Monaghan; who, of all the aristocracy, were most devoted to the establishment. They triumphed in each instance, and had the experiment been general, might have done so to a much greater extent. The forty shilling freeholders, the army of Irish liberty, still remained to fight the good fight, and conquer for their friends. The results of 1826 added immensely to the influence of the association both at home and abroad.*

* The Irish landlords felt their defeat severely, and commenced a system of vindictive retaliation by ejecting, without mercy, all the tenants who had proved refractory. On the other hand, the Catholic Association organized "A Tenant Protection Rent," which soon amounted to a considerable sum; at the same time, it was very broadly hinted that Catholic creditors would foreclose the mortgages of those landlords who chose to indulge in the luxury of persecution. This was a perilous menace to men overwhelmed with debt, and only nominal owners of their estates. The landlords soon saw that they would have the worst in the conflict; they desisted one by one, and even employed the priests, in many cases, to make amicable arrangements for them with their own tenants." — *Reminiscenses of O'Connell*, p. 65.

The Paris press conveyed to the European continent the records of a struggle once more restored to international consequence. The Duke de Montebello, Messrs. Duvergier and Thayer, visited Ireland in 1826. Duvergier wrote a series of very interesting letters on "the state of Ireland," at the time, which went through several editions. At the Ballinasloe meeting the Duke de Montebello had a vote of thanks presented to him, which he gracefully acknowledged, expressing his wishes for the success of their cause. This simple act excited much apprehension and a deal of discussion at court and at the castle.* The Paris press was still more attracted in consequence, and the French Catholics, informed of the state of affairs, voted an address and subscription to the Dublin association. The Bavarian Catholics followed their example, and encouraging assurances were received from Spain and Italy.

One address from British India contained a contribution of three thousand pounds sterling. From the West Indies and Canada proportionate assistance was rendered. Dublin had become the Catholic capital of the empire, the association its senate, and O'Connell its prince or president.

In the United States of America — the natural asylum of multitudes of persecuted Irish Catholics — this sympathetic movement was most active. New York felt almost as interested in the cause as Dublin. In 1826 and 1827, associations to coöperate with O'Connell were formed at New York, Boston, Washington, Norfolk, Charleston, Augusta, Louisville, and Bardstown. Addresses in English and French were prepared for these societies, chiefly by Dr. McNevin, at New York, and Bishop England, at Charleston. The American, like the French press, became interested in the subject, and eloquent allusions were made to it in Congress. On the 20th of January, 1828, McNevin wrote to O'Connell, —

"Public opinion in America is deep, and strong, and

* Duvergier's Letters, Appendix to Wyse's History of the Catholic Association, p. 15.

"universal, in your behalf. This predilection prevails "over the broad bosom of our extensive continent. As- "sociations similar to ours are every where starting into "existence — in our largest and wealthiest cities — in "our hamlets and our villages — in our most remote "sections; and at this moment, the propriety of con- "vening, at Washington, delegates of the friends of Ire- "land, of all the states, is under serious deliberation. A "fund will ere long be derived from American patriotism "in the United States, which will astonish your haugh- "tiest opponents." *

All the foreign influence that an unrecognized *de facto* government could exercise was thus placed in the hands of the managers of the association at Dublin.

Protestantism, conscious, by all its instincts, of the recovering energies of the faithful, made in those busy years a desperate effort to revive the cause of the reformation. In 1824, and the five succeeding years, "the Bible Societies" concentrated all their funds and energies on Ireland. Native bigots, like Parsons Pope and Lees, were subsidized and cheered on: allies, like the Hon. Baptist Noel, Mr. Wolff, and Captain Gordon, a descendant of the lord of the London riot, were provided for them by Exeter Hall. At Derry, Dublin, Carlow, and Cork, the itinerants challenged the clergy to defend their doctrines. Fathers Maginn, Maguire, Maher, McSweeney, and some others, accepted these challenges, and the oral discussion of theological and historical questions became as common as town talk in every Irish community. Whether, in any case, these debates conduced to the conversion of Protestants is doubtful; but they certainly supplied the Catholic laity with a body of facts and arguments very necessary at that time, and which hardly any other occasion could have presented. The Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, who was justly considered the ablest Irish bishop of his time, though he tolerated a first discussion, positively forbade a second. Among

* Wyse's History of the Late Catholic Association, vol. i. Appendix, p. 210.

the cogent reasons he gave his clergy for so doing were these:—

"With such men there can be no common principles "to which they could be bound to adhere; or if there "were any, they could be departed from by them as soon "as their opinions underwent a change; but in no case "would such principles express a form of religious be- "lief binding upon any others than those who might "subscribe to them. You who are Catholics, professing "a clearly-defined faith, can never meet men who are "thus tossed about by every wind of doctrine, upon a "footing of equality: they may be worsted in argument, "convicted of error, confounded at the exposure of their "own contradictions or folly; but they alone can suffer; "no one is responsible for their errors, no person need "blush at their confusion, no man is a partner in their "shame. Not so with you. If, through error, mistake, "ignorance, or forgetfulness, you leave an objection un- "refuted, or an aspersion not wiped away, such objection "or aspersion stands recorded against your church, and "the chaste spouse of Christ suffers in your person from "the blasphemy of her apostate children.

"You are to avoid these disputes, because by entering "into them you appear to call in question those truths "which are already defined by the Holy Ghost and by "us, that is, by the bishops, the successors of the apos- "tles. You agree, as it were, to impanel a jury, of I "know not what description of persons, to try the ques- "tion whether Christ is with us teaching all days, even to "the end of the world; whether the Holy Ghost has, or has "not taught our fathers all truth; whether we be placed "by him to rule the church of God; whether this church "be, or be not, the pillar and ground of truth; whether "those whom we leave bound on earth be bound in "heaven; or whether the gates of hell have prevailed, or "can prevail, against the church; whether, again, this "church has been buried in idolatry for eight hundred "years; whether, in fine, those who refuse to hear her, "and who thereby despise Christ, and the Father who "sent him, are, or are not, as heathens and publicans

" before God. These truths, reverend brethren, which " would be thus subjected, as it were, to trial, are clear " and incontestable; you yourselves have enforced them " by much argument and great eloquence; and it is be- " cause they are immovable, and because your argu- " ments in support of them are able, convincing, and " unanswerable, that the members of the Bible Society " wish, by inviting you to a renewed discussion, to " turn public attention from the palpable folly of their " proceedings.

" You should not dispute with these men in the man- " ner proposed, because there is no tribunal on the earth " competent to try the issue between you. The errors " maintained by the members of the Bible Society regard " either the primary articles of the Christian faith, or " truths already defined by the church. Both these " classes of truths are immovably and definitely set- " tled: God, or his church, or rather both, have spoken; " and as St. Augustine said to the Pelagians, 'The cause " is concluded; I wish the error would at length cease' — " *Causa finita est; utinam aliquando finiretur error.* There " can be no new hearing, no new trial. The church at " Trent invited the heretics of the sixteenth century " (those who broached or renewed the errors which are " now revived) to plead their own cause before the " council: these blind and obstinate men refused to do " so, but their cause was examined fully and dispassion- " ately; sentence was at length passed, and the matter " set at rest forever. *Causa finita est.* It can never be " revived: it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and " to our fathers so to determine; there can be no re- " hearing of the case; there is no higher tribunal consti- " tuted by God, no one or many to whom a new issue " could be directed for trial. 'Whosoever does not " hear the church, let him be to thee a heathen and a " publican.'

" Lastly, you should not contend, as is proposed, with " men over whom a triumph could be productive of no " permanent advantage: as individuals they may be " learned and respectable; but as religionists they are

" deserving only of your unmixed pity. They profess to " be seeking for truth; this can only be found in the " Catholic church; and the faith which believes in it, as " there propounded, is a gift of God — to be obtained, " not by disputation, but by humility, alms-deeds, and " prayers. The judgment of man is too slow and too " unsettled; the objects of its investigation are too " mysterious and too far removed: it may reason in- " terminably and dispute, but it can never determine; " authority alone can decide." *

The Archbishop of Armagh and other prelates issued similar circulars to their clergy to refrain from oral disputes. The discussions at Derry, Dublin, Carlow, and Cork, were subsequent to this: the practice gradually fell into disuse. Controversial lectures and the agency of the press have been chiefly resorted to of late days, and with far greater success.

The short-lived notoriety of " the second reformation " was chiefly due to the ostentatious patronage of it by the Protestant aristocracy. A Mr. Synge, in Clare, Lord Lorton, and a Mr. McClintock, at Dundalk, were indefatigable in their attempts at fattening prize converts for evangelical exhibitions. The Earl of Roden, — brother to the Protestant Bishop of Clogher, convicted of nameless crimes, — to show his entire dependence on the translated Bible, — threw all his other books into a fish pond on his estate. Maxwell, Lord Farnham, was still more conspicuous in the revival; he spared neither patronage nor writs of ejectment to convert his tenantry. The vaunting reports of conversions upon his lordship's estates, and throughout his county, attracted so much notice, that Drs. Curtis, Crolly, Magauran, O'Reilly, and McHale met on the 9th of December, 1826, at Cavan, to inquire into the facts. They found that, while there had been gross exaggeration on the part of the reformers, yet that a few hundreds of the peasantry had, by various powerful temptations, been led into apostasy. Their lordships, while there, received back some of the

* Life of Dr. Doyle, pp. 184, 185. New York: D. & J. Sadlier.

unfortunates, and the following jubilee brought nearly all the rest, in tears of heartfelt sorrow, to the confessional. The Hon. Mr. Noel and Captain Gordon posted to Cavan, and waited upon the bishops with a challenge to discuss doctrines with them. Of course, their cartel was not received by the prelates. Moore's inimitable satire was the most effective weapon against such fanatics.*

In the reign of George IV. the Irish and British press was more occupied with Catholic subjects than with any other. Of her own children the church reckoned Drs. Milner and Doyle, Thomas Moore, Charles Butler, and some others less known among her defenders; of "liberal Protestants," Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, and William Cobbett deserve special remembrance. In opposition to these, the writers of *Blackwood's Magazine*, then in its prime, Archbishop Magee of Dublin, and the Rev. George Croly, since rector of St. Stephen's, London, were most conspicuous.

---

* Thomas Furlong, not inaptly called the Irish Churchill, (though his personal character embraced all the virtues Churchill's wanted,) had a considerable share in the biblical war. As a specimen of his powers, we give his portrait of the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Magilligan, a small-beer poet, and a foaming apostle to the Gentiles in Ulster: —

"Lo, as his second, in these troublous times,
Comes crazy Graham, with his ribald rhymes.
View the vile doggerel, slowly dragged along,
To mock at grief, and sneer away a wrong.
Mark how he stoops, laboriously to drain
The last, low oozing of his muddy brain,
Until, at length, as champion of the cause,
He gains his end — promotion and applause.
It comes! 'tis his — his object from the first —
'Tis his! and now let Popery do its worst.
The low-born crowd may toil to swell his pride,
'Tis his to take, to triumph, and deride;
'Tis his of new-framed acts to make the best,
To jeer his slaves, and call his faith a jest;
'Tis his to grasp what cant or craft hath won;
'Tis theirs to strive, to struggle, and pay on.
View this, ye dolts, who prate about the poor;
View it, ye scribes, and say, shall it endure?
View it, ye race, who reason from the past,
And ask your hearts if such can always last."

The *Plagues of Ireland*, a Poem. Dublin: 1827.

Some of the Blackwood writers, and both the latter were Irish Protestants. When, in 1827, the Wellington administration came into office, there could be little doubt upon which side the most heart and learning was engaged.

The intimate connection of argument and action, in the career of the Catholic Association, gives a coherency and interest to its records which no mere agitation could supply. Every year new facts come up, marking the actual progress better than words. The holding of simultaneous meetings, the deputations to England, the evidence before Parliament, the foreign subsidies received, the taking of a Catholic census, and establishment of "liberal clubs," are events which may be said to rise to the dignity of historical. They kept the orators in countenance, and the people of good cheer. We now approach their natural conclusion — "the Clare election," at which O'Connell was returned to Parliament, in June 1828; and the fact that the long-sought-for relief bill, "received the royal assent" in April, 1829.

Mr. Fitzgerald, the sitting member for Clare, having accepted office early in 1828, under the Wellington government, and Major McNamara, the expected "liberal Protestant" candidate, having declined, at the last moment, to oppose him, Mr. O'Connell issued his address to the electors — a document which is the very reflex of its writer. It begins thus: —

"You will be told I am not qualified to be elected: "the assertion, my friends, is untrue. I am qualified to "be elected, and to be your representative. It is true "that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, "take the oaths at present prescribed to members of Par- "liament; but the authority which created these oaths "(the Parliament) can abrogate them; and I entertain "a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigoted "of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from "the chosen representative of the people an obstacle "which would prevent him from doing his duty to his "king and to his country.

"The oath at present required by law is, 'that the

" sacrifice of the mass, and the invocation of the Blessed " Virgin Mary, and other saints, as now practised in the " church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous.' Of " course I will never stain my soul with such an oath : " I leave that to my honorable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitz- " gerald; he has often taken that horrible oath; he is " ready to take it again, and asks your votes to enable " him so to swear. I would rather be torn limb from " limb than take it. Electors of the county of Clare! " choose between me, who abominates that oath, and " Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it full twenty " times! Return me to Parliament, and it is probable " that such a blasphemous oath will be abolished forever. " As your representative, I will try the question with the " friends in Parliament of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. They " may send me to prison. I am ready to go there to " promote the cause of the Catholics, and of universal " liberty. The discussion which the attempt to exclude " your representative from the House of Commons must " excite will create a sensation all over Europe, and " produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation " against British bigotry, in every enlightened country in " the world, that the voice of all the great and good in " England, Scotland, and Ireland, being joined to the " universal shout of the nations of the earth, will over- " power every opposition, and render it impossible for " Peel and Wellington any longer to close the doors of " the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland.

" Electors of the county of Clare! Mr. Vesey Fitz- " gerald claims as his only merit that he is a friend to " the Catholics: why, I am a Catholic myself; and if " he be sincerely our friend, let him vote for me, and " raise before the British empire the Catholic question in " my humble person, in the way most propitious to my " final success. But no, fellow-countrymen, no; he will " make no sacrifice to that cause; he will call himself " your friend, and act the part of your worst and most " unrelenting enemy."

After a short but animated canvass, and six days' poll- ing, in which O'Connell was sustained by the clergy, and

his brilliant staff, Shiel, Lawless, Ronayne, Father Maguire, O'Gorman Mahon, and Steele, the contest ended. O'Connell was declared duly elected, and returned to Dublin, through a perfect ovation.*

The remainder of the year was the very agony of expectation to all parties. The ultra-Protestants formed their Brunswick clubs, to oppose the liberal clubs, devised by Mr. Wyse, and adopted by the Catholics. The "liberal Protestants," with the Duke of Leinster at their head, sent forward a powerful declaration in favor of emancipation. The Duke of Wellington gruffly acknowledged "the tin case," without saying a word of its contents; but notes from him and the Lord Lieutenant, (Anglesea,) both holding out fair promises, were addressed to Primate Curtis, and found their way to the public. The Orangemen and Catholics, on the Ulster border, were in the highest excitement, and civil

* "The election," says an eye-witness, "was the most orderly ever contested in Ireland: the Catholic leaders and the priests exerted themselves successfully to keep the people quiet; they forbade them to touch spirituous liquors, and, though Father Mathew had not yet appeared, not a single glass of whiskey was tasted by any of the peasantry during the election. Some strange events occurred: Sir Edward O'Brien assembled his tenants in a body, to march to the hustings and vote for Fitzgerald; Father Murphy, of Corofin, met them, harangued them, and, placing himself at their head, led them into Ennis, and polled them, to a man, for O'Connell. Father Tom Maguire did the same with the tenants of Mr. Augustine Butler. One evening, at the close of the poll, while the crowd waited to hear the number announced, a Catholic priest, realizing in his appearance Sir Walter Scott's description of Habakkuk Mucklewrath, ascended the hustings, and in a sepulchral voice announced that a Catholic had that day voted for Fitzgerald. Groans, and cries of 'Shame!' burst from the crowd. 'Silence,' said the priest; 'the hand of God has struck him; he has just died of apoplexy. Pray for his soul.' The whole multitude knelt down, and a prayer was muttered in sobs and tears. The announcement was correct; the wretched man was so affected by having voted, as he believed, against his conscience and his country, that he sunk under the feeling. On the 6th day Mr. Fitzgerald resigned the contest, and O'Connell was returned.

"The consequences of this victory were momentous: aggregate meetings were held in various parts of the country, at which many, both of the Protestant and Catholic aristocracy, attended, and took the pledges dictated by the Catholic Association. The peasant factions, which used to meet for battle on every holiday and every fair, met, under the guidance of the agitators, to forswear their feuds, and join hands in amity. The tranquillity of Ireland was terrible."

war was seriously apprehended. General Thornton wrote to the Duke of Wellington that he could not answer for the loyalty of the troops in the north, while at Limerick and other garrisons the Catholic and Protestant soldiers had more than once come to blows, in debating the merits of the agitation. After long and humiliating deliberations, the government resolved to introduce a relief bill, without a veto, or a provision for pensioning the Irish clergy. The influence of the Marchioness of Conyngham, who succeeded her of Hertford as the king's mistress, was said to have been used to secure the consent of George IV.

At the opening of the session O'Connell proceeded to London, and being presented with the oaths by the clerk of the house, he refused to be sworn. "Because," said he, "there is one part of them which I do not believe to be true, and there is another which I know to be false." After a lengthy discussion, he was heard at the bar of the house, for three hours, in his own cause; his counsel, Pollock, Phillips, and Lynch, were also heard at length before a committee of the house. Evidently, he had a clear title to sit; but while the committee of inquiry was still debating it, the "emancipation bill" passed, so worded as to include only Catholics *thereafter* elected. This was at George IV.'s special desire, and was aimed directly and exclusively at O'Connell.

In opening the session of 1829, the king recommended Parliament "to take into deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland; review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; and consider whether those disabilities can be affected consistently with the full and permanent security of the establishments in church and state, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of the realm, and of the churches committed to their charge." On the same day, (the 5th of March,) a bill suppressing the Catholic association passed both houses, and received the royal assent. But the association had anticipated it by dissolving a few days previously. Mr.

Peel next moved a committee of the whole house, to go into a "consideration of the civil disabilities of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." This motion, after a two days' debate, was carried by a majority of 188. On the 10th of March, the bill was read for the first time, and passed without opposition, such being the arrangement entered into while in committee. But even in five days, the ancient bigotry of the land had been aroused; nine hundred and fifty-seven petitions had already been presented against it: that from the city of London was signed by more than "a hundred thousand freeholders."* On the 17th it passed to a second reading, and on the 30th to a third, with large majorities in each stage of debate. Out of 320 members who voted on the final reading, 178 were in its favor. On the 31st of March it was carried to the Lords by Mr. Peel, and instantly read a first time; and two days later, (on the 2d of April,) it was read a second time, on motion of the Duke of Wellington: a bitterly contested debate of three days followed. On the 10th, it was read a third time, and passed by a majority of 104.

On the 13th of April the bill received the royal assent. It was hailed in Ireland with acclamations, but the merit of it was chiefly given to the association founded in 1823, and conducted with so much energy during six years by O'Connell and his coadjutors.

By this bill, both houses of Parliament and all judicial offices were thrown open to Catholics — the power of altering, or making, and of administering laws. The bill of 1778 had recognized the right of Catholics to possess property; the bill of 1793 had given them the franchise and partial freedom of instruction; the bill of 1829 gave them legislative and judicial power. The freedom of the municipalities, the commutation of tithes, and the abolition of the proselytizing schools, followed the admission of the Catholics into the next ensuing Parliament.†

* Rev. G. Croly's Life of George IV.

† In August, 1832, was first proposed Mr. Stanley's commutation tithe act, which reduced and reformed the impost, and became law in

But this emancipation was still imperfect; it did not legalize the religious orders; it expressly forbade the bishops taking the tithes of their sees, and it was accompanied by another act, disfranchising the "forty shilling freeholders," and limiting the qualification for voters in Ireland to twelve pound holdings. It was a victory, but it had its cost.

It also expressly excluded O'Connell, who, however, was soon reëlected, and on the first day of the session of 1830, took his seat in the house. Excepting King James's Parliament, he was the first Catholic for above two centuries who had been permitted to exercise the functions of a legislator at Westminster. The death of George IV., in 1830, occasioned a general election; and Shiel, Wyse, O'Dwyer, Lawless, Ronayne, and above forty other emancipators, followed their chief into the councils of the empire. Of their course of conduct there we leave others to speak. Our present narrative does not extend to the recent records of the imperial Parliament.

In the year of our Lord 1830, the Protestant establishment, after three centuries of such warfare as we have witnessed, stood humbled, and conscious of defeat, before the unconquered faith of the Irish nation. Wonderful result of God's grace, aiding and sustaining a weak people! Lesson of lessons to the pride and ambition of heresy backed by temporal power!

In 1830, the Catholics in Ireland were over six million souls,* having twenty-six bishops and nearly three thousand priests. Their national college was overcrowded with pupils free to come and go. Every diocese had its seminary, and more than half the parishes had good

November, 1834. The parsons were terribly annoyed by the new commutation act; they announced their miseries, and proclaimed aloud their starving condition; nay, so far did they carry this beggar's opera or farce, that they actually petitioned the treasury for a loan of one million pounds sterling, to save them from utter destitution. — *O'Connell and his Friends.*

* By the census of 1834, the exact numbers are — Roman Catholics, six million two hundred and eighty-seven thousand; Protestants of the established church, eight hundred and fifty-two thousand; Presbyterians, six hundred and forty-two thousand; making in all nearly eight millions of souls.

schools.* They had repurchased a third of the real property of the country, and were growing on the sectarian proprietary; they stood equal to the favored disciples of the state, in law, physic, and human learning. They were represented at the press, on the bench, and in Parliament. As the mass cave and the stone altar gave way to barn chapels, so these, in turn, disappeared in the shadows of new and stately imitations of the old temples of the island.

Abroad, the terms *Irishman* and *Catholic* were synonymous. An Irish Protestant was looked on as a rare man, a curiosity, a contradiction, a paradox.

The Anglicans in Ireland, at the same period, were about three quarters of a million — the Presbyterians a little over half. Taken together, they were to the Catholics rather less than one in seven. Such was the final result, after all the wars, confiscations, famines, proscriptions, penalties, executions, endowments, and proselytism which we have traced through the reigns of twelve Protestant sovereigns.

At the close of its third century, Protestantism in Ireland, though stripped of its early supremacy, was still rich in mere revenues. "It is on record," says an intelligent author, "that three bishops, in fifteen years, left seven hundred thousand pounds to their families. A bishop of Clogher went to Ireland without a shilling, and after eight years died worth four hundred thousand pounds. The Bishop of Cloyne, who died in 1826, left one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to his children."

. . . . . .

"By the probates at Doctors' Commons, it appeared, in 1828, that the personal property of twenty-four bish-

* At a meeting in Leitrim in 1826, Father Maguire said, "There were five schools in my parish, under the plan of the Hibernian School Society. I warned the people not to send their children to them, and at the same time set a subscription on foot, by collecting a penny a week from some, and a halfpenny a week from others, and paying five guineas a year myself. I was able to establish eight schools in their stead. They are now open to public inspection, and I would venture to say, that the children improve faster and make a greater progress in learning than any of those in the Hibernian schools."

ops, who had died within the preceding twenty years, amounted to the enormous sum of one million six hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds — an average of nearly seventy thousand pounds for each bishop. This was the sworn value of the personal property only, and some of the bishops are known to have had very large possessions in real property.

"Nor have they been at all particular as to the mode of amassing their wealth. The Earl of Bristol, when Bishop of Derry, realized four thousand pounds a year, by the ingenious practice of buying up old church leases, holden under himself, and granting new ones for fines, of course, considerably *larger* than the sums he thus paid." *

---

* Book of the Poor Man's Church. From another English publication, we select a few figures in relation to the same period of time.

"Mr. Grattan, on the 12th of July, 1842, produced in the House of Commons, in a debate touching this subject, the following extracts from the probate of wills in Ireland for some years previous. It appears that

Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, left, at his death,	£150,000
Beresford, Archbishop of Tuam,	250,000
Agar, Archbishop of Cashel,	400,000
Stopford, Bishop of Cork,	25,000
Percy, Bishop of Dromore,	40,000
Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns,	50,000
Bernard, Bishop of Limerick,	60,000
Porter, Bishop of Clogher,	250,000
Hawkins, of Raphoe,	250,000
Knox, of Killaloe,	100,000
Total,	£1,575,000"

From the publication already quoted we select the following statistics, in proof of the rapacity of the Anglo-Irish church: —

"There are benefices in the Irish Church,	1,556
One of which (in the county of Down) is worth per an.,	£2,800
Ten between	£2,000 and 2,600
Twenty,	1,500 " 2,000
Twenty-three,	1,200 " 1,500
Forty-eight,	1,000 " 1,200
Seventy-four,	800 " 1,000
One hundred and forty-eight,	600 " 800
Four hundred and eighty-one,	400 " 600
Three hundred and eighty-six,	300 " 400
Four hundred and sixty-five,	30 " 200
Number of acres,	669,257

"If we estimate the acres," continues our authority, "at £1 per acre, it

The college and bishops' lands granted in the old confiscations were another source of ecclesiastical revenue, valued at some hundreds of thousands per annum.

Of the internal arrangement of the Irish church Dr. Doyle gave, in 1825, the following answers to the committee of Parliament: —

"What are the different degrees in the Roman Catholic church in Ireland? — The degrees are, an archbishop, a bishop, and where there is a chapter, it consists of a dean with some other dignitaries and prebends.

"What other kind of dignitaries? — Chancellors, precentors, and so forth; the same dignitaries precisely as those of the chapters of the establishment. Next come the parish priests, and then their curates. Besides those, each bishop has one or two vicars general, and also as many rural deans as the necessity or extent of the diocese may seem to him to require.

. . . . . .

"Have you any idea of the actual number of parish priests, and coadjutors in Ireland? — I believe the number of parish priests is about one thousand, and, at an average, I should suppose that each of them has a coadjutor: in some parishes the parish priest has no coadjutor; in others the parish priest may have two.

"Are not the parishes in the Roman Catholic church, generally speaking, the same as those in the Protes-

---

will yield £660,257 for the bishops' lands alone. There are also 13,603,473 acres of land subject to tithe, all of which is a grievous tax upon the poor, either in the shape of rent charges or otherwise.

"The report of the commissioners states that in Ireland there are one hundred and fifty-one parishes *having no member of the church of England*, and eight hundred and sixty parishes having *less than* seventy-seven *Protestants*.

"Parliamentary grants since the Union in 1800, in Ireland: —

For building Protestant churches,	£525,371
For building glebe houses,	336,889
For Protestant charity schools,	1,105,867
For Church Society to discountenance vice,	101,991
For Kildare Place Society,	170,502
Total,	£2,240,620"

The Black Book for 1844.

" tant?—I might say generally so, but not universally,
" by any means.

" Are there various unions of parishes in the Catholic
" church?—Yes.

" You mentioned that in filling up vacancies in par-
" ishes, the bishops selected those of their diocese whom
" they thought the most deserving: do you mean to say
" they never go out of the diocese to select?—They have
" a power of doing so, but I have not known any case
" wherein they have exercised that power. I should not
" consider myself at liberty to go out of the diocese
" where I live, because the clergymen officiating within
" the diocese consider, and I also consider, that they
" have a right to such livings as may happen to become
" vacant; so that to bring in a stranger, and exclude
" them, would, in my mind, be unjust.

" Is there a chapter in your diocese?—There is no
" chapter in my diocese.

" Are there chapters in many of the Catholic dioceses?
" —There are.

" Does the bishop name to the offices in the chapter?
" —To all offices except to that of dean.

" Who names to that of dean?—The pope appoints
" to the office of dean."*

In the same evidence he explained how the parish priests elected three candidates for each vacant bishopric, from whom the pope habitually selected one to fill the office. He also stated that the average income of the parish priests, from voluntary subscriptions, was about three hundred pounds per year; which, in the aggregate, would be less than one fifth of the income of the establishment. The same proportion holds as to means of education: Trinity College receives from public sources tenfold the income of Maynooth.

The amount of special Parliamentary grants for church building, repairing, and other purposes, is almost incalculable. During the last forty years, the dioceses of

* At the census of 1841, there were in Ireland 2361 priests, 138 convents, including the four orders, and 13 colleges.

Tuam and Killala alone have received above seven million dollars of public money, for the spiritual guardianship of whom there is "church accommodation" only for seven thousand one hundred and thirty souls.*

No figures of arithmetic or of speech can express this contrast between Catholicity and Protestantism in Ireland. The one was stripped naked, scourged, crowned with thorns, crucified — the other imperial, clothed in gold and jewels, armed with life and death to the body, victorious in battle, deadly in revenge. Catholicity descends into the tomb, to arise again glorified and immortal; while Protestantism, like Herod, sits on its throne in gloomy grandeur, powerful to destroy, but incapable of the conquest of a single pious soul. The contrast, old as the cross, of the church and the world, in no modern nation is so boldly defined as in England and Ireland.

The martyr age of the Irish church has come upon it the last. Its first centuries were illumined with a multitude of mild lights, burning in an atmosphere of peace. The doctors preceded the martyrs. Now, not alone the foundations, but the finished edifice, in every part, has been soaked and cemented with the blood of devoted

---

* See A Letter to the Hon. A. Kinnaird, Treasurer of the Mary-le-bone and Paddington Auxiliary Society for Church Missions, to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. By William Shee, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law. Burns & Lambert, 1852. This Letter contains much curious and valuable statistical information on the Anglican establishment in Ireland.

In his speech on the Maynooth grant, in the session of 1852, Mr. Vicent Scully, M. P. for Cork, adduced the following facts, which were not disputed: "The church titles of Ireland were stated by Mr. Leslie Foster to be about six hundred thousand pounds a year, and the lands belonging to the bishops of Ireland to about nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand pounds, independent of other church lands. So that all the landed property connected with the Irish church establishment, including its college lands, are at least a million of acres. The entire revenue, direct and indirect, of the established church in Ireland, cannot be estimated much under two millions a year; and if you add to this enormous sum rather more than a million a year for the cost of maintaining an extra force of police and military, it will be seen that you require for the support of the established church in Ireland a sum of not less, in round numbers, than three millions a year, in order to provide spiritual food for the six hundred thousand of the comparatively rich Protestants of Ireland."

priests and laymen. From side to side, the Irish soil bears the red cross upon its bosom, traced there by the perpetual sacrifice of life which has followed all the vain attempts to establish the reformation.

That good God, who denied our fatherland domestic peace, has consecrated her to a holy war, glorious, though sorrowful. Our Lord has suffered; the saints have suffered; Ireland has suffered. If nations could be canonized, she might well claim the institution of the process.

O reader, whose eyes are on this page, if, haply, you are of the race that has suffered most for God, I beseech you, as a true friend, reflect well on your own concerns. Where do you stand? What do you seek? Riches, success, and worldly honors were with the Elizabeths, Cromwells, and Williams, whom your fathers so stoutly opposed. The Persecutor and the Puritan are gone. Your Catholic ancestors are also dead. With which of these do you desire your soul may be everlastingly? If with your fathers, then be like your fathers — firm in the faith, even unto death. So may your souls hasten to rejoin their souls, where "the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ARTICLES OF LIMERICK.

Exactly printed from the Letters Patents; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, under the Great Seal of England.

Gulielmus et Maria, Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex et Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præcentes literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulument. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione, geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part; and several officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavors that the same should be ratified and confirmed in Parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz: —

ARTICLES

Agreed upon the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one,

Between the Right Honorable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, on the one part:

And the Right Honorable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy, Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby

Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part:

In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the City, and Submission of the said Army: it is agreed, that,

I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, *as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.*

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interest, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown rents, quit rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or in the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practice their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles II.: provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised; provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefits of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of alle-

giance,* made by act of Parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants, of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz., Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chieveas of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II.; and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavors to get the same repealed by Parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerk's fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses; and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

* I, *A. B.*, do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavors, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavors that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices and the said Baron De Ginckle shall intercede with the king and Parliament to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands:

Present,	Scravenmore,	Char. Porter,
	H. Maccay,	Thos. Coningsby,
	T. Talmash,	Bar. De Ginckle.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we, having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, *that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained.* And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz., "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz., "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c., witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis, annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos { S. Keck, Lacon Wm. Childe. } In Cancel. Magistros.

MILITARY ARTICLES

Agreed upon between the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant General and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, on the one side;
And the Lieutenant Generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I. That all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas, (England and Scotland excepted,) where they think fit, with their families, household stuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and footguards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go to France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz., the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick, the horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here,) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherwise employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages, by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without pay-

ing any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandise, horses, money, plate, or other movables, or household stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered: and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid; and all other persons belonging to them are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burden two hundred tons, for which the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them: and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burden, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men-of-war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burden.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that, as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the nearest way, in order to embark there; and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare Castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colors flying, with all the provisions and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, General Ginckle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavors, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army, that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and that, besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the River of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt or any other pretext.

XXI. If, after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet boat, or other transport ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to

come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the above-said troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Mons. Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz., the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passsge of Thomond Bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer, they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, *with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colors flying, six brass guns, such as the beseiged will choose, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place;* and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores for the support of the said troops whilst they stay in this kingdom and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on shipboard.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbors, and that, on both sides, they shall

be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men; and if any sea commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the River of Limerick to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the beseiged shall give the following hostages ———, and the general shall give ———.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle, all those that shall be appointed to command the same shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

BARON DE GINCKLE.

October 19.

NO. II.

THE IRISH LORDS' PROTEST AGAINST THE ACT

"TO CONFIRM THE ARTICLES OF LIMERICK," A. D. 1702.

RESOLVED on the question, that the engrossed bill sent up by the Commons, entitled "An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick," do pass into a law.

Ordered, on motion, that such lords as please may enter their protest to the last foregoing vote, with their reasons.

We, the lords spiritual and temporal, whose names are hereafter subscribed, do dissent from the aforesaid vote, and enter our protest against the same, for the reasons following: —

1. Because we think the title of the bill doth not agree with the body thereof, the title being, "An Act for the Confirmation of articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick;" whereas no one of the said articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed.

2. Because the said articles were to be confirmed in favor of them to whom they were granted. But the confirmation of them by the bill is such, that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as we conceive.

3. Because the bill omits these material words — "and all such as are under their protection in said counties," which are by his majesty's letters patent declared to be part of the 2d article, and several persons have been adjudged within the 2d article by virtue of the aforementioned words; so that the words omitted, being so very material, and confirmed by his majesty after a solemn debate, as we are informed, some express reasons, as we conceive, ought to have been assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world as to that omission.

4. Because several words are inserted in the bill which are not in the articles; and others omitted, which alter both the sense and meaning of some parts of the articles, as we conceive.

5. Because we apprehend that many Protestants may and will suffer by this bill, in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased and lent money upon the credit of the said articles, and, as we conceive, in several other respects.

Londonderry,	John Ossory,	Tyrone,
Thomas Limerick,	Duncannon,	Thomas Killaloe,
S. Elphin,	Kerry,	Will. Derry,
Howth,	Will. Clonfert,	Kingston.
W. Killala,	Strabane,	

NO. III.

PETITION AND LIST OF DELEGATES OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

January 2, 1793

Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, and Sir Thomas French, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland, attended the levee at St. James's, and had the honor to present the humble petition of that body to his majesty, who was pleased to receive it most graciously.

The delegates were introduced by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

The following is a correct copy of the petition:—

To the King's most excellent Majesty:—

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN: We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labor.

For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred; after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanor and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your majesty, that, notwithstanding the lowest departments in your majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military; a proscription which disregards capacity or merit; admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as a universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by

giving an advantage over us to those in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish, throughout the kingdom, a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavor, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school, for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the University of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions than unjust in their object: by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free — keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishment of the pillory and whipping — penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment, founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this, their native land, in a worse condition than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the panel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbors and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but, may it please your majesty, there remains one incapacity which your loyal subjects the Catholics of Ireland feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the

cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities: we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your majesty to believe, that this, our prime and heavy grievance, is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and, in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland; for, may it please your majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages, in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniences to which those who are deprived thereof are liable, not to mention the disgrace to three fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland of living, the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution, it continually happens, and of necessity, from the malignant nature of the law, must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry, in divers counties in this kingdom, are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms, to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords: a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election — that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren — a visitation and heavy curse to us, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your majesty's Catholic subjects operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens that this your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any, countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your majesty's honor, and the more effectual support of your service.

And may it please your majesty, the evil does not even rest here; for many of your majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity, against their conviction and their conscience; and, preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve: a circumstance which, we doubt not, will shock your majesty's well-known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

And may it please your majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English constitution by our forefathers; was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranticd by your majesty's royal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by Parliament; not-

withstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation, thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his majesty King George II.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case; for, though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do, with all humility, conceive, that, if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your majesty's government in this country, as well in their personal service in your majesty's fleets and armies as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, submitted our grievances to your majesty, permit us, most gracious sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in three estates of King, Lords, and Commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanor, and submission to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct which has, under your majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope that your majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament of Ireland to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and, as we do not give place to any of your majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your majesty that service, which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your majesty transmit to your latest posterity a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

[The above petition is signed by the delegates from the following counties, cities, and towns, in the kingdom of Ireland.]

John Thomas Troy, D. D., Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin,
H. Moylan, D. D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork,
} For ourselves and the Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland.

Luke Teiling, Oliver O'Hara, Bernard O'Neill,	For ourselves and the Catholics of the county of Antrim.
Theo. MacKenna, Charles Whittington, Owen O'Callaghan,	County of Armagh.
Walter Fitzgerald, Edward Butler, William Finn, Thomas Warren,	County of Carlow.
Hugh O'Reily, James Pallas, Edward Dowell, Patrick Dowell,	County of Cavan.
Patrick O'Reilly, Lawrence Comyn, James O'Gorman, Nicholas Mahon, Daniel O'Connell, Francis MacMahon, Jr.,	County of Clare.
William Coppinger, John Therry, Nicholas Francis Coppinger, D. Rochfort, Bryan Scheehy, Edward Byrne, Dennis Thomas O'Brien,	County and city of Cork.
Richard Dodd, Daniel MacLaughlin, Andrew MacShane,	County of Donnegal.
Samuel Norris, John O'Neill, John Magenis, Thomas Savage, James Kenney,	County of Down.
Patrick Thunder, Barry Lawless, Patrick Smith, Peter Farrell, Thomas Segrave, Henry Thunder,	County of Dublin.
James Kiernan, Philip Maguire, Terence Maguire, Richard Kiernan,	County of Fermanagh.
Christopher Dillon Bellew, Christopher Bellew, Thomas French,	County of Galway.
Thomas Hussey, Matthew Moriarty,	County of Kerry.

Thomas Fitzgerald, Jr.,	
Charles Aylmer,	
John Esmonde,	
Christopher Nangle,	County of Kildare.
James Archbold,	
Randel MacDonnell,	
Edward Sheil,	
Nicholas Devereux,	County of Kilkenny.
Patrick Oliver Plunkett,	
Francis Bennett,	King's County.
Myles Keon,	
Hugh O'Beirne,	
John Keogh,	County of Leitrim.
Robert Dillon,	
Bryan Sheehy,	
R. Sheehy Keatinge,	County of Limerick.
Richard MacCormick,	
Andrew MacShane,	
Richard Dodd,	County of Londonderry.
James Count Nugent,	
Christopher Nugent,	
Bernard O'Reilly,	County of Westmeath.
Edward MacEvoy,	
John Weldon,	
Patrick Byrne,	
Patrick Russell,	County of Louth.
James Joseph MacDonnell,	
Edmund Dillon,	
Andrew Crean Lynch,	County of Mayo.
Nicholas Fitzgerald,	
Theodore Mahon,	
James Nangle,	
Bartholomew Barnwall,	
Michael Johnson,	County of Meath.
Richard Barnewall,	
Thomas Ryan M. D.,	
Hugh Hamill,	
James Carolan,	County of Monaghan.
Bartholomew Clinton,	
Daniel Reilly,	
Morgan Kavanagh,	
James Warren,	Queen's County.
William Dunne,	
Edward Byrne, Jr.,	
John Fallen,	
James Plunkett,	County of Roscommon.
Owen O'Connor,	

Hugh MacDermot, M. D.,	
J. Everard,	
Patrick Mullarky,	County of Sligo.
John MacDonogh,	
Charles O'Connor,	
James Aylward,	
Lawrence Smyth,	
John Lalor,	County of Tipperary.
Dennis O'Meagher,	
Thomas Mahon,	
Thomas Richard Geraghty,	
Terence O'Neill,	
Bernard MacMahon,	County of Tyrone.
John Ball,	
John Byrne,	
John Fairfield,	
Patrick Power,	
Bartholomew Rivers,	
Richard MacKenna,	County and city of Waterford.
John Dillon,	
Thomas Kirwan,	
James Edward Devereaux,	
Harvey Hay,	County of Wexford.
Edward Hay,	
Edward Sweetman,	
Walter Byrne,	
Thomas Fitz Simon,	
Richard Doyle,	County of Wicklow.
Patrick Cavenagh,	
Peter Brady,	
Michael Dardis,	
Lattin Fitzgerald,	County of Westmeath.
John Walsh,	
John Cormick,	
Christopher Teeling, M. D.,	Town of Carrickfergus.
Laurence MacDermott,	
John Byrne,	Town of Armagh.
Edward Madden,	Town of Inniskillin.
Thomas Warren,	Town of Carlow.
Lewis Flanegan,	Philliptown.
James Molloy,	
Thomas Magan,	Town of Dundalk.
Ignatius Weldon,	Town of Trim.
Thomas Lynch,	
Edward Sutton,	
William Kearney,	Town of Wexford.
Michael MacCarty,	

Francis Arthur,	City of Limerick.
Jasper White,	
Luke Stritch,	
George O'Halloran,	
William Sweetman,	
Charles Young,	
John Rivers,	Clonmell.
Matthew James Plunkett,	
Henry Lynch,	Town of Galway
Malachy O'Connor,	
Edmund Lynch Athy,	
Martin F. Lynch,	
James Fitz Simons,	Carrick on Shannon.
N. LeFavre,	Town of Castlebar.
Hugh Leonard,	
John Dunn,	Town of Sligo.
James Bird,	Town of Drogheda.
Roger Hamill,	
Gerald Dillon,	
Jeremiah Dwyer,	Town of Cashel.
Simon Kelly,	Town of Athlone.
Mark Dowlin,	Town and lordship of Newry.
James Reilly,	
Charles Drumgoole,	
Paul Houston,	Town of Enniscorthy.
Philip Sullivan,	
Thomas Doran,	Ballyshannon.
James Kelly,	
John Donahoe,	Town of Carrick on Suir.
Con. Loughmyn,	City of Kilkenny.
John Shearman,	
John Murphy,	
James Dixon,	Dungarvan.
Joseph Patrick Cahill,	Town of Athy.
G. Fitzgerald,	
John MacLoghlin,	Town of Boyle.
William James MacNeven,	Navan.
Edward Geoghehan,	
Denis Cassin,	Town of Ballymahon.
Richard Cross,	Town of Belfast.
Patrick Byrne,	
Thomas Bourke,	Town of Athboy.
John O'Neill,	
Richard Browne,	Town of Carrickmacross.
Gregory Scurlog,	
Hubert Thomas Dolphin,	Loughrea.
Henry Johnston,	Maryborough.
Patrick Byrne,	Ardee.
W. S. Kindelan,	

A. Thompson,	Town of Thurles.
John Esmond,	Town of Naas.
Joseph Byrne,	
Anthony French,	Town of Athenry.
John Ball, Jr.,	Maryborough.
John Duffy,	Town of Roscrea.
Christopher Taylor,	Town of Swords.
Richard Dillon,	City of Dublin.
Thomas Kennedy,	
Jonathan Lynch,	
Thomas Glanan,	
James Murphy,	
John White,	
Lewis Lyons,	
Patrick Bean,	
Edward Lewines,	
A. Daly, M. D.,	
Nicholas Elcock,	
Simon Maguire,	
William Hyland,	
Patrick Marsh,	
Thomas Reynolds,	
John Sweetman,	
Michael Boylan,	
James Conolly,	
Thomas Braughall,	
Charles Ryan,	
John Ball,	
Thomas MacDonnell,	
Christopher Kelly,	
Patrick Sweetman,	
John Sutton,	
John Comerford,	
Patrick Grehan,	
James Ferrall,	
William Clark,	
John Kearney,	
Richard Walsh,	
J. G. Kennedy,	
John Andrews,	

NO. IV.

THE POPE'S LETTER ON THE SUBJECT OF THE VETO.

ADDRESSED TO THE CATHOLIC PRELATES OF IRELAND.

TO OUR VENERABLE BROTHERS,

The Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland.

PIUS P. P. VII.

VENERABLE brothers, health and apostolical benediction. The perusal of your letter, delivered to us by our venerable brothers, Daniel, Archbishop of Hierapolis, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Dublin, and John, Bishop of Cork, together with certain resolutions passed with your joint concurrence at a synod held in Dublin, on the 23d and 24th days of August, of the last year, 1815, has impressed our mind with a deep sense of concern. For we, having openly declared the conditions to which we could assent, in case the expectation excited by the government of granting emancipation should be realized, imagined we had, as far as in our power lay, removed the difficulties which opposed the emancipation of the Catholics of the kingdom of Great Britain, and, in a certain degree, had prepared a way for the obtainment of a benefit, so long and so earnestly looked for. With this hope, and relying on it with certain confidence, we gave instructions to our venerable brother Laurence, Bishop of Sabina, cardinal of the holy Roman church, and prefect of the congregation de Propaganda Fide, to communicate our sentiments in a letter to our venerable brother the Archbishop of Dublin, through whom they might subsequently be made known to your whole body also, which has been performed by him according to the instructions received from us. With what pain then do we find it expressly declared in your letter, that the expedient which, amongst others, we signified that we would follow, for satisfying the government of the loyalty of those to be elected bishops, not only did not meet your approbation, but appeared to you to threaten destruction to the Catholic religion in Ireland! Wherefore, in conformity with our duty, we despatch the present letter to you, for the purpose of effacing from your minds the not sufficiently well-founded opinion which you appear to entertain in regard to the expedient above alluded to. We trust that God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose vicar on earth, though from no merits of our own, we glory in being, will give from above such force to our words, that the weighty reasons which we are about to lay be-

fore you shall so affect your minds as to induce you to lay aside all anxiety relative to the expedient already stated as approved of by us.

It is necessary, therefore, venerable brothers, that you should bring distinctly to your recollection the point of the expedient proposed by us, which has caused you so much fear and anxiety. When it became incumbent on us to adopt some method by which, after the law granting emancipation should be passed, the government might be satisfied of the loyalty of those to be chosen bishops, of which those at the head of it entertained very groundless indeed, but very serious apprehensions, what did we propose? Was it, that under the obligation of a convention, or by any other mode, or in any other form to be submitted to, perhaps if not strictly eligible, the right of nomination, of presentation, of postulation, should be granted to government, so that those administering it might dictate to us the names of clergymen to be by us appointed bishops in that kingdom? By no means; for while we strenuously adhered to the wise principles of our never-to-be-forgotten predecessor, Pope Benedict the Fourteenth, relative to the never granting to princes, not being Catholics, the privilege of nominating to bishoprics or abbacies, declared by him in a letter written to the Bishop of Breslaw, on the 15th of May, in the year 1748, we carried our precautions so far, that we proposed nothing which could with truth be said to convey to the government a power as to the choice of bishops. We only declared that we would grant a certain power of exclusion; and, in order that the power so given might never be turned into a privilege of election, we circumscribed it within certain limits, and, as expressly stated in the letter of Cardinal Litta, already quoted, we announced, that what we meant to permit was to extend no further than this — "That those whose province it is may present to the king's ministers the list of the candidates, in order that if there be amongst them the name of any person displeasing to, or suspected by, the government, such name may be immediately pointed out and erased; still, however, so that a sufficient number may remain, from which his holiness may freely choose whom in the Lord he may judge more fit for presiding over the vacant sees." This then is what we propose to allow, in order that all room for doubt concerning the loyalty of the prelacy should be removed from the mind of government. Its sphere of interference will be, you must perceive, very limited, being confined to this — that it shall be empowered to erase from the list of candidates to be presented to this holy see for appointment to vacant bishoprics (which list we allowed should be submitted to the king's ministers for that purpose) the names of any persons whose loyalty may be viewed with suspicion, still, however, with this stipulation and condition, that, after the erasure of those names, a sufficient number of candidates shall remain, from which we, and the popes of Rome, our successors, may freely choose him whom we shall judge of all the most worthy of the episcopal rank and office.

Wherefore, venerable brothers, it is unquestionably evident, that what we have done amounts only to this: we have agreed to act steadily towards the British government, according to the same rule, useful in

itself, founded in prudence, which our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, even before those times when the nomination of bishops was granted to princes, determined, in their wisdom, to maintain as effectually as might be; that is, not to promote to vacant sees any persons whom they might know to be unpleasing to the powers under whom the dioceses to be administered by them were situated; which rule, far from being considered injurious to the church, and far from having brought any evil on it, is justly approved of and praised by all. For it is founded on a principle laid down by another of our most illustrious predecessors, St. Leo the Great,* "that none be ordained bishop without the consent and postulation of the flock, lest an unwelcome intruder incur its contempt or hatred." Now, this principle, although literally applicable to the people only, to whose postulations at that time regard was had in the election of bishops, must rightfully be extended to princes, the necessary circumstances concurring, and even to those who are not in communion with us, who, from the nature of their power in temporal affairs, have so easily the means of preventing a bishop, who may be the object of their dislike or suspicion, from the care of the flock committed to his charge.

But you appear to entertain serious apprehensions that, if the power spoken of be granted, the government may successively erase, from the list to be presented to it, the names of those most worthy of the honor of episcopacy, and by this means compel those who shall have the transaction of the business to name the clergyman whom it shall judge most likely to be subservient to its views, and that the destruction of the Catholic religion may thence take its rise. Observe, however, venerable brothers, how destitute these your apprehensions are of all reason and all foundation; remember that the government which, under other circumstances, might be suspected of entertaining projects hostile to the Catholic religion, is the same which by laws, especially those passed in the years 1773, 1788, 1791, and 1793, repealed a great part of those penal statutes by which the Catholics of the British empire were so grievously oppressed; remember how often your most excellent King George the Third, and his illustrious son, have extended their protection to Catholics, and that the British government was amongst the chief of our supporters in procuring our return to the pontifical chair, and our restoration to our ancient independence in the exercise of those spiritual rights which the hand of violence had wrested from us. Upon what grounds, therefore, could any one suspect that this same government entertained a design to destroy that most holy religion, which, by its favor and protection, it had so often guarded? And if certain attempts are still made in your island, to the injury of the Catholic religion, these undoubtedly either are the acts of private individuals, or they will altogether cease, as soon as all laws enacted against Catholics being repealed, the latter shall be placed on the same footing as other subjects, and no objection be further made to the free profession of the Catholic religion.

* Leo Magnus, Ep. 12. Anascap. 5.

Now, although it were a thing to be apprehended, which to us appears altogether incredible, that the projects of government were directed to the destruction of the Catholic religion, yet the power which we declared ourselves willing to grant could never be perverted into the means of producing such an effect. For the list in which the names of the candidates are to be contained will certainly not be made out by the government, but by the care and attention of those, being Catholics, who usually propose to this see persons for promotion to the vacant bishoprics of your kingdom, which Catholics, excelled by none in their zeal for religion, will insert in their list the names of such ecclesiastics only as they shall judge best suited for sustaining the weight of the episcopal dignity; but government, according to the condition, which is, as we have mentioned, to make an essential part of our proposed concession, shall be allowed to point out for erasure from the list, not *all*, but *some* only of the names proposed, and be bound to leave a sufficient number, out of which a free election of one may be made by us. So that, although some be rejected by government, yet our selection will still be occupied about such only as, by the suffrage of Catholics, shall have been judged the most worthy, and therefore inserted in the lists of candidates, and for this reason it can never happen (provided the condition laid down by us be adhered to, from which, if any deviation be made, the concession itself becomes invalid) that the government, by excluding many in succession, should, at last, compel the electors to the choice of one unworthy of the office, and likely to be subservient to its plans for the destruction of the Catholic religion.

This also, venerable brothers, it is right that you should seriously advert to, that it was not possible for us to refuse this small interference in the election of bishops to the British government, without exciting, in a serious degree, the displeasure of that government towards the whole church. It were indeed to be wished, and it is what we of all others most earnestly desire, that in the election of bishops we enjoyed that full and complete freedom which so peculiarly makes a part of our supremacy, and that no lay power had any share whatever in a matter of so much moment. But you yourselves well know how far we are at present removed from this happy state of things. For the sovereigns of Europe, or many of them at least, have demanded and obtained, from the apostolical see, a greater or lesser share of influence in the nomination of candidates. And hence have arisen the *conventions*, the *indults*, the *nominations*, the *postulations*, the *presentations*, and other expedients of this kind, by which the extent of the privileges granted in this way to so many Catholic sovereigns is limited and defined. Even in your islands, before the ever-to-be-lamented separation from the Roman church took place, the bishops were chosen by the pope, upon the supplication of the king, as is recorded in the acts of the consistory, held on the 6th of July, in the year 1554, during the auspicious pontificate of Pope Julius the Third.* Besides, not Catholic

* Apul. Raynaldum ad an. 1554, Nos. 5 and 6.

sovereigns alone, but others also who are separated from our communion, claim a share in the appointment of ecclesiastical persons to bishoprics, situated in those parts of their dominions which yet adhere to the Catholic faith; a claim which this see feels it necessary to submit to.

Such being the state of this momentous question, what hope could there be entertained that the British government would long have submitted to an exclusion from a share in appointing the bishops of your island, even such as it has been explained, while a conduct so different is observed, not only to Catholic sovereigns, to those even whose dominions are of the smallest extent, but also to princes who do not belong to our communion? Was it not to be feared, that, if we had declined adopting the measure already mentioned, the government would not only lay aside all intention of granting emancipation to the Catholics, but withdraw from them all favor and protection throughout the whole of its so widely-extended dominions?

Moreover, an additional motive of jealousy must arise in the mind of government towards us and the Catholic cause from this circumstance, that the bishops subject to its dominion, being rendered by the emancipation, supposing it granted, qualified to sit in Parliament, new precautions might appear necessary to remove all possibility of doubt concerning their loyalty. We grant, indeed, that no additional pledge of that loyalty can appear necessary to us, proved as it is by the testimony of the experience of so many ages, and the bishops binding themselves to fidelity and obedience towards the government, by the obligation of an oath, according to the second of the three forms which we have proposed; but how is it to be expected that the government will consent to relinquish this additional security for the loyalty of the bishops, which in the case of so many other sovereigns and governments is fully allowed? How can it be imagined that the British government will not conceive itself unfairly treated, by the refusal of this additional security; or that it will not derive from it a motive of doubting the loyalty of the Catholics, which unprincipled men are constantly laboring to bring under suspicion? Who can believe that the refusal of even such a return as this for the mighty benefit of emancipation must not excite deep resentment in the minds of those who are expected to grant it?

For the prevention, therefore, of those evils which were to be apprehended on the part of so powerful a government, no other means appeared to us sufficient but that of agreeing to those rules relative to the election of bishops, which are mentioned in the letter of Cardinal Litta.

Now, with regard to the power which we have expressed an intention of granting, we consider it not only as making part of a fit and wise arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs, which shall be at once not injurious to religion, and a means of averting from it many calamities otherwise to be feared, but also as a likely motive towards the obtainment of emancipation, which has been a principal inducement with us to concede it, desirable as that emancipation is to the Catholics, and

attended, as it must be, with a large share of spiritual advantages. Turn your thoughts, venerable brothers, to this, and consider it with particular attention, that we, in granting to government the indulgence so often spoken of, have been influenced by no political or temporal motives, but induced solely by a consideration of those benefits and advantages which must flow to the Catholic religion from the repeal of the penal laws. For under the operation of those laws, whose severity is to be considered as not falling short of any, even the most grievous of the persecutions, recorded in the annals of the church, what afflictions, what oppressions, was not the Catholic religion subject to in your islands? For in Great Britain, as you need not be told, the Catholics are reduced to an inconsiderable number, while the succession of the Catholic bishops is in a manner destroyed, a few vicars apostolic alone remaining; but in Ireland, although the legitimate succession of the hierarchy has been preserved inviolate down to the present day, and although the Irish Catholics have been ever eminent for a most zealous attachment to our holy religion, yet their number has been unquestionably diminished by the operation of the penal laws, as a multitude of Irish writers abundantly testify.

That the miserable condition of the Catholics in both islands has been greatly relieved by the clemency of George III., and the repeal in Parliament of many of the laws by which they were grievously oppressed, we grant and acknowledge; still, as you well know, many yet remain unrepealed, which press heavily on the Catholics of Ireland, and still more on those of England, and from which the evils resulting to the Catholic religion, under their operation, must, to a certain degree at least, continue to flow. For which reason the Catholics of England, almost all, and of Ireland, at least a great number, entertain a most earnest desire of the total repeal of those laws; and have, as is known to all, repeatedly petitioned for such repeal, in the same manner as, in the early ages of the church, the Christians, making use of St. Justin and the other apologists to explain their wishes, besought the abrogation of the laws enacted against them, which gave rise to the dreadful persecutions which took place in the Roman empire. It may be allowed to hope that the day is not far distant when a law corresponding with the wishes of the Catholics shall be enacted, which, however, be their right to the obtainment of emancipation what it may, never, certainly, will pass, without our previously granting the privilege in question.

The weight of those reasons, which we have long and duly, in proportion to their high importance, considered, has induced us, after first hearing the counsel of several of our venerable brothers, cardinals of the holy Roman church, and examining the opinion of other men, eminent for learning and a knowledge of British affairs, to propose the temperament, so fully explained to you, for the settlement of this matter. We saw, indeed, that an infringement, to a certain degree, was thereby made in the discipline of the church, which claims for the Roman pontiff a complete independence in the election of bishops. But with regard to discipline, who is ignorant that changes may, by the legitimate authority, be made, in compliance with the circumstances of things and times? And this is a principle which our predecessors have uniformly maintained: as an instance of which, a noble maxim of

St. Leo the Great particularly occurs to us, as expressed in a letter to Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne:* "As there are certain things which can on no account be altered, so are there many which from a due consideration of times, or from the necessity of things, it may be right to modify." We had also before our eyes the rule laid down by our predecessor, Innocent III., who says,† "It is not to be considered blamable if, in consequence of a change of times, a change of human laws be effected, especially when an urgent necessity, or an evident utility, calls for such change." Now, what more powerful reasons, what more momentous circumstances, could ever be supposed to exist, than those by which we felt ourselves affected, and which we have not hesitated thus to lay before you? Since, therefore, the privilege offered by us is in itself harmless, and consistent also with all the rules of prudence; since, from our refusal of it, heavy calamities, and, from our grant of it, the greatest advantages must result to the church, (understanding by those advantages the emancipation of the Catholics, and the restoration, in the kingdom of Great Britain, of liberty in all things pertaining to religion,) why should we hesitate? What motive could have retarded us from openly declaring our wish to grant the privilege in question, or from relaxing somewhat from the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline? We unquestionably judged that we were bound to act on this principle, and saw ourselves placed in such a situation, that we might justly adopt the expressions of our predecessor, Gelasius:‡ "We are compelled, by the inevitable dispensation of things, and by a due regard to the maxims of government adopted by the apostolical see, so to weigh the enactment of former canons, so to interpret the decrees of preceding pontiffs, our predecessors, as, employing all due and diligent consideration, to regulate, as well as may be, all those things which the necessity of the present times may require to be relaxed for the restoration of the churches."

We, therefore, venerable brothers, entertain no doubt that you all, having considered and duly weighed what we have thus set before you, will acknowledge the measure adopted by us to be most just, and will, in all respects, conform yourselves to it. Let your hearts glow with that zeal for religion with which those truly apostolical men were inflamed, who labored, with so much solicitude, to recall the Irish nation from the erroneous celebration of Easter, as practised by them in the sixth and seventh ages of the church, and at length, by much labor and many cares, succeeded in establishing in your island the time of celebration so strenuously vindicated by our predecessors, Honorius I. and John IV. Now, if you shall show yourselves desirous to set an example of docility to others, and as your wisdom so powerfully enables you to instruct the people, and allay the rising emotions of their minds, we are fully persuaded that the benefit of emancipation being once granted, the long and stormy periods, during which religion has suffered a persecution so tedious and so severe, will be followed

* Ep. 167. Edit. Balerin.
† Cap. non debet 3, de consang. et affinit.
‡ In Epist. ad Episcopus Lucanio.

by days of peace, replete with tranquillity and all other blessings. Such days, venerable brothers, our prayers most ardently solicit for you, entertaining, as we do towards you all, the tenderest feelings of love and charity, in return for your merits towards the Catholic church, and for the zeal and reverence you have ever manifested to this apostolical see. In pledge whereof, and with the strongest expression of our dearest regard, we hereby bestow on you, our venerable brothers, and on the whole Irish people, our apostolical benediction. Dated Rome, at St. Mary Majors, February 1, 1816, in the sixteenth year of our pontificate.

PIUS P. P. VII.

Agreeable to the manuscript, so far as above given.

J. Thos. Troy, R. C. of Dublin.

NO. V.

CAREY'S ANALYSIS OF THE ALLEGED MASSACRE OF 1641.

From the Vindiciæ Hibernicæ.

Was there really a Massacre of the Protestants in 1641 ? — *Unparalleled Exaggeration.* — *More Protestants pretended to be killed than there were on the Island.* — *Temple.* — *Rapin.* — *Hume.* — *Clarendon.* — *Conclusive Evidence drawn from Sir William Petty.* — *Carte's and Warner's Refutation of the Legend.*

"Falsehood and fraud grow up in every soil,
The product of all climes." — ADDISON.

ALTHOUGH I have already in a former chapter incidentally touched on the numbers said to be massacred by the Irish in the insurrection of 1641, I think it proper to resume the subject, and go into it somewhat more at length, as it is a cardinal point in the vindication I have undertaken.

In order to proceed correctly in the investigation, I shall let the accusers narrate their own tales, in order to ascertain what is the sum and substance of the allegations.

"*The depopulations in this province of Munster do well near equal* "*those of the whole kingdom ! ! !*" — TEMPLE, 103.

"There being, since the rebellion first broke out, unto the time of "the cessation made September 15, 1643, which was not full two years "after, above 300,000 *British and Protestants cruelly murdered in cold* "*blood !* destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habita-"tions, according to the strictest conjuncture and computation of those "who seemed best to understand the numbers of English planted in "Ireland, *besides those few which fell in the heat of fight during the* "*war.*" — *Idem*, 6.

"Above 154,000 Protestants were massacred in that kingdom from "the 23d October to the 1st March following." — RAPIN, IX. 343.

"By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties "are supposed to be 150 or 200,000. By the most moderate, and "probably the most reasonable account, they are made to amount to "forty thousand! if this estimation itself be not, as is usual in such "cases, *somewhat exaggerated !*" — HUME, III. 545.

"A general insurrection of the Irish spread itself over the whole "country, in such an inhuman and barbarous manner, that there were "forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants *murdered, before* "*they suspected themselves to be in any danger*, or could provide for their

" defence, by drawing together into towns or strong houses." — CLARENDON'S E. II.

That "Saul slew his thousands, and David his tens of thousands," was, in "olden time," sung by the women of Israel. Every Philistine was magnified into ten, every ten into a hundred, and every hundred into a thousand. But the amplifying powers of the Jewish women fade into insignificance when compared with those of the Anglo-Hibernian writers. Every Englishman that fell in battle, or otherwise, was murdered. Every man was magnified into a hundred, every ten into a thousand, and every hundred into ten thousand.

Such a spirit of exaggeration has prevailed, in a greater or less degree, in all ages. Even in common occurrences, hardly calculated to excite any interest, we daily find that the statements of current events are so highly colored, as to differ full as much from the reality as the countenance of a meretricious courtezan, who has exhausted her stores of carmine and white lead, differs from the blooming countenance of an innocent country damsel, who depends wholly on the pure ornaments of beneficent nature. This being undeniably the case where no temptation to deception exists, how dreadful must be the falsehood and delusion in the present case, where ambition, avarice, malice, bigotry, national hatred, and all the other dire passions that assimilate men to demons, were goaded into activity!

In all other cases but that of the history of Ireland, to convict a witness of gross, palpable, and notorious falsehood, would be sufficient to invalidate the whole of his evidence; but such has been the wayward fate of that country, that the most gross and manifest forgeries, which carry their own condemnation with them, are received by the the world as though they were

"Confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ."

Or when some are found too monstrous to be admitted, their falsehood and absurdity do not impair the public credulity in the rest of the tales depending on the same authority.

The materials for Irish statistics, at that early period, are rare; a deficiency which involves this subject in considerable difficulty. Were correct tables of the population of Ireland to be had, the task would be comparatively easy; and I could put down all those tales with as much ease as I have stamped the seal of flagrant falsehood on the many impostures already investigated.

But I avail myself of a sound rule, to employ the best evidence that the nature and circumstances of the case will admit; and there are, fortunately, some important data on which to reason, in the present instance, and to shed the light of truth on this intricate question, and dispel the dense clouds with which it has been environed by fraud and imposture.

Sir William Petty, the ancestor of the Lansdowne family, laid the foundation of a princely fortune in the depredations perpetrated on the Irish after the insurrection of 1641. Of course, he had no temptation to swerve from the truth in their favor; on the contrary, it was his

interest, equally with the other possessors of the estates of the plundered Irish, to exaggerate their real crimes, and to lend the countenance of his reputation to their pretended ones. Hence his testimony, on this ground, and as a contemporary, cannot, so far as it tends to exonerate those upon whose ruin he raised his immense estate, be excepted against by the enemies of the Irish. I shall therefore freely cite him in the case; and the reader will at once perceive to what an extent delusion has been carried on this subject.

He states the aggregate number of the Protestants who perished in eleven years, to have been 112,000, [Petty, 18,] of whom "two thirds were cut off by war, plague, and famine." It is obvious to the meanest capacity, if, of 112,000, the whole number that fell in that space of time, two thirds were cut off "by war, plague, and famine," that those who fell out of war, in *eleven years*, were only 37,000! I hope to prove that even this statement, so comparatively moderate, is most extravagantly beyond the truth.

Sir William confutes himself, beyond the power of redemption.

"Mark how a plain tale shall put him down."

He bequeathed to posterity some statistical tables, which throw considerable light on this subject. They are very meagre, it is true; but, meagre as they are, I believe there are no others; at all events, I know of none, and must therefore avail myself of them.

He informs us, that the population of Ireland, in 1641, was 1,466,000,* and that the relative proportion of the Protestants to the Catholics was as two to eleven;† of course, it follows, that the population was thus divided: about 1,241,000 Roman Catholics, and 225,000 Protestants.

From this conclusion there is no appeal.

The supplies of people from England and Scotland, until after the final defeat, capture, condemnation, and death of Charles I., were inconsiderable;‡ and surely it is impossible for a rational being to believe, that out of 225,000 there could have been 112,000 destroyed, and the residue been able to baffle and defeat the insurgents, who comprised the great mass of the nation. It will therefore, I trust, be allowed, as an irresistible conclusion, that Sir William Petty's calculation, although so far more moderate than any of the "tales of terror" quoted at the commencement of this chapter, is most extravagantly overrated, probably trebled, quadrupled, or quintupled; and must, of absolute necessity, be extravagantly false.

But even admitting it to be correct, what an immense difference

* "This shows there were, in 1641, 1,466,000 people." — *Ibid.*

† For the present I admit this proportion; as, however exaggerated the number of the Protestants may be, it does not affect the point at issue. But, from various circumstances, it is doubtful whether there was one Protestent to eleven Roman Catholics.

‡ More Protestants, it is highly probable, removed from Ireland during the progress of the war, than the number of soldiers who were sent thither from England.

between 37,000 in eleven years, and the numbers so confidently stated by the various writers of Irish history! What astonishment must be excited by Burton's 300,000 in a few months; Temple's 300,000 in less than two years; May's 200,000 in one month; Warwick's 100,000 in one week; or Rapin's 40,000 in a few days! Surely there is not, in the history of the world, any parallel case of such gross, palpable, shocking, and abominable deception. Can language be found strong or bold enough to mark the dishonor of those who knowingly propagated such falsehoods, or the folly, or neglect, or wickedness of those who adopted and gave them currency? Their names ought to be held up as "a hissing and reproach," to deter others from following in their foul and loathsome track of calumny and deception.

On the subject of the number of victims of the pretended massacre, the observations of Carte are so judicious and unanswerable that they would be sufficient, independent of the other evidence I have produced, to put down forever those miserable legends about so many hundreds of thousands of the Protestants cut off in a few weeks, or months, or years, and to stamp on the foreheads of their authors the broad seal of outrageous imposture. He states, that the extravagant numbers asserted to be massacred, were "*more than there were of English, at that time, in all Ireland.*" — CARTE, I. 177.

"It is certain that the great body of the English was settled in Mun-
"ster and Leinster, *where very few murders were committed;* and that
"in Ulster, which was *the dismal scene of the massacre*, there were
"above 100,000 Scots, who, before the general plantation of it, had
"settled in great numbers in the counties of Down and Antrim, and
"new shoals of them had come over upon the plantation of the six
"escheated counties; and they were so very powerful therein, that *the*
"*Irish, either out of fear of their numbers, or some other politic reason,*
"*spared those of that nation, making proclamation, on pain of death, that*
"*no Scotchman should be molested in body, goods, or lands*, whilst they
"raged with so much cruelty against the English." — *Ibid.*

"It cannot, therefore, reasonably be presumed that there were at
"most above 20,000 English souls, of all ages and sexes, in Ulster at
"that time; and of these, as appears by the lords justices' letter, there
"were *several thousands got safe to Dublin, and were subsisted there for*
"*many months afterwards, besides* 6000 *women and children*, which
"Captain Mervyn saved in Fermanagh; and others that got safe to
"Derry, Colerain, and Carrickfergus, and went from those and other
"ports into England." — *Idem.*

It is impossible to reconcile the latter part of the above quotations with the rest; a case, as we have repeatedly stated, that incessantly occurs in Irish histories. The author informs us, on rational grounds, that there were "*not more than* 20,000 *English in Ulster;*" that "*several thousand got safe to Dublin;*" that "6000 *women and children were saved* in Fermanagh;" and that "others *got safe* to Derry, Colerain, and Carrickfergus." These all-important and conclusive facts he connects with a statement of "the *extreme cruelty* with which the insurgents raged against the English," and with a notice of the "*dismal*

scene of the massacre," the subjects of which massacre are not very easily found, and, at all events, could not have been very numerous; for, let us add together "several thousands," and "6000," and the "others" who "got safe" into the specified towns, where there were numerous garrisons; where, of course, in a time of violence and commotion the inhabitants of the circumjacent country would naturally seek refuge, and where, it is not extravagant to suppose, that "the others," who thus "got safe," might have amounted to some thousands: let us then deduct the aggregate from 20,000, the total number of English, and we shall find a slender remainder. But the plain fact is, that the writers on this subject are so haunted by the idea of a massacre, that although it rests on the sandy foundation of forgery and perjury, as shall be fully proved in the sequel, and although many of their own statements, in the most unequivocal manner, give it the lie direct, their minds cannot be divested of the terrific object. These passages from Carte furnish a strong case in point. The most ardent friend of Ireland could not desire a much more complete proof of the fallacy of the accounts of the pretended massacre than is here given by this author himself, who, nevertheless, wonderful to tell! appears to resist the evidence of his own facts, and to be blind to the obvious inference to which they inevitably lead.

Ferdinando Warner, a clergyman of the church of England, appears to have been the only writer who has gone into any elaborate investigation of the legendary tales of the pretended massacre; and his views of the subject well deserve the most serious attention of the reader. After stating the uncertainty of the accounts, and the consequent difficulty of making an exact estimate, he pronounces a strong and unequivocal sentence of condemnation on the Munchausen tales we are combating; and avers, that

"*It is easy enough to demonstrate the falsehood of the relation of every "Protestant historian of this rebellion.*" — WARNER, 296.

He proceeds to render a satisfactory account of the grounds on which this statement rests.

"*To any one who considers how thinly Ireland was at that time peopled "by Protestants, and the province of Ulster particularly, where was the "chief scene of the massacre,* THOSE RELATIONS UPON THE FACE OF "THEM APPEAR INCREDIBLE." — *Ibid.*

"Setting aside all opinions and calculations in this affair, which, "besides their uncertainty, are without any precision as to the space of "time in which the murders were committed, the evidence from the "depositions in the manuscript above mentioned stands thus: The "number of people killed, upon positive evidence, collected in two "years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, "amounts only to *two thousand one hundred and nine;* on the reports "of other Protestants, *one thousand six hundred and nineteen more;* and "on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of "*three hundred:* the whole making *four thousand and twenty-eight.* "Besides these murders, there is, in the same collection, evidence, on "the report of others, of eight thousand killed by ill usage; and if we

"should allow that the cruelties of the Irish out of war extended to "these numbers, which, considering the nature of several of the depo- "sitions, *I think in my conscience we cannot*, yet to be impartial we "must allow that *there is no pretence for laying a greater number to* "*their charge.* This account is also corroborated by a letter, which I "copied out of the council books at Dublin, written on the fifth of "May, sixteen hundred and fifty-two, ten years after the beginning of "the rebellion, from the Parliament commissioners in Ireland to the "English Parliament. After exciting them to further severity against "the Irish, as being afraid 'their behavior towards this people may "never sufficiently avenge their murders and massacres, and lest the "Parliament might shortly be in pursuance of a speedy settlement of "this nation, and thereby some tender concessions might be con- "cluded,' the commissioners tell them that it appears '*besides eight* "*hundred forty-eight families, there were killed, hanged, burned, and* "*drowned, six thousand and sixty-two.*'" — WARNER, 297.

Thus I close this subject with stating, that these hundreds of thousands are reduced by Carte to 20,000, less "several thousands" and "6000 women and children," and "others;" and by Warner to about 12,000, of whom only 4028 were murdered, a large portion of which detail, "in his conscience" he cannot allow! Would it not be an insult to the reader to offer another word to prove the utter falsehood of all the terrific statements given of the subject, whereby the world has been so long and so grossly deceived?

192078 282.415
McGee, Thomas D'Arcy M172
A history of attempts
15

192078 282.415
M172

St. Mark's Library
The General Theological Seminary
175 Ninth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10011

Please stamp date in left column, write your name legibly in center column and leave right column blank. Deposit circulation card in slot marked 'Circulation cards'.

There is no date due, but books must be returned promptly upon request. Do not lend books charged to you to others.
You are responsible for them.

S0-BZZ-465